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L I V Y

BOOK XXII.

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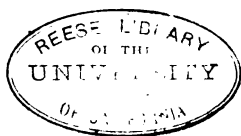
LIVY BOOK XXII.

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND MAPS

BY THE

REV. LAUNCELOT DOWNING DOWDALL, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR, FIRST SENIOR MODERATOR AND
UNIVERSITY STUDENT, TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN; B.D. CH. CH. OXFORD.



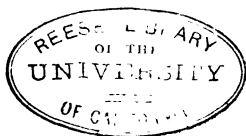
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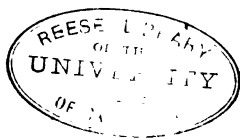
PREFACE.

IN this edition, as in that of Bk. XXI, my object has been to supply the needs of advanced students, especially at the Universities, by providing them with a correct text of Livy, a statement of the various readings in the MSS. and editions, and an ample commentary, dealing with textual difficulties and questions of grammar, geography and history as they arise. How far I may have realized my object must rest with my readers to determine. I can only say that I have spared no pains in executing a work on which I have been engaged for some years, and have freely availed myself of the labours and investigations of continental scholars, to whom I now gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness, as it would have needlessly increased the bulk of this volume, had I done so on every occasion on which I consulted them. I have followed Madvig's text, except where I regarded his emendations as too rash or improbable. On the various syntactical peculiarities of Livy, I must acknowledge my obligation to the copious work of Ludwig Kühnast, entitled

Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax, Berlin, 1872, and for grammatical writing, especially in the use of substantives and adverbs, to the seventh ed. of Fried. Nägelsbach's Lateinische Stilistik. On literary points I have derived much aid from Teuffel's Hist. of Rom. Lit., 2 vols., 1873. Other works which I have found helpful in preparing the commentary are mentioned in the Preface to my edition of Bk. XXI.

BRIGHTON,

• *March 19, 1888.*



INTRODUCTION.

MATERIALS FOR THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Livy's lost second decade (xi.—xx.) embraced the history of the First Punic War. The third decade (xxi.—xxx.), extending from B.C. 219—201, includes the Second Punic War, on which the following authors, in addition to Livy, are our main authorities: Polybius B.C. 167, Silius Italicus A.D. 77, Appian A.D. 140, Dio Cassius (frags.) A.D. 180, Zonaras A.D. 1118, besides the biographical notices of Nepos B.C. 44 and of Plutarch A.D. 80, and the epitomes of Florus A.D. 115, Eutropius A.D. 361, and Orosius A.D. 416. From this it follows that all contemporary documents¹ have perished, Polybius not having been born till probably B.C. 204. The Romans of Livy's day were uncritical and did not require a statement of authorities for his facts, but rather the pleasure of an attractive style. Hence Livy does not often inform us on what proofs his accounts are based. But Nep. Hann. 13, f. states that many wrote about

¹ Peter in his admirable collection of fragments, cited below, V. Antias 237, Calp. Piso 320, gives all that remains. Ennius in his Annals bk. 7 began second Punic War, as Naevius wrote a poem on first Punic War. P. p. 5, Cincius A. 40, Acilius 44, Cato 51, Hemina 95, Caelius A. 147, Claudius Quadrigarius 205, Tubero 311.

this war, while he singles out two Greeks who were in Hannibal's camp, Silenus and Sosilus the Lacedaemonian (who taught Hannibal Greek), as also Philinus, who accompanied Hannibal, and was as favourable to the Carthaginians as Fabius was to the Romans. Livy refers to Silenus 26, 49, 3, and Cicero Div. 1, 24 praises him, saying *diligentissime res Hannibalis persecutus est*. They are both quoted by Polybius, who (3, 20, 5), however, censures Sosilus for his credulity. Other contemporaries of the war were Fabius Pictor (whose valuable history is cited by Polybius, Dionysius and Livy; cf. 22, 7, 4; cf. ib. 57, 5), and Cincius Alimentus, whom our author likewise consulted (21, 38, 3). Cato (B.C. 201) in the 4th and 5th Bks of his *Origines* related the history of the First and Second Punic Wars; but Livy does not quote that work, nor yet the history of Hemina, who related the Second Punic War in his 4th Bk. Livy, however, recognises the value of the *Annals* of Calpurnius Piso and those of Acilius, translated by Claudius (Quadrigrarius?), 25, 39, m. But the authors most frequently cited by Livy are Caelius Antipater¹ (cf. 21, 38, 7), and Valerius Antias (35 times), Caelius' chief authority being Silenus, as in the case of the dream (21, 22, 6, cf. Cic.'s quotation from Caelius).

Livy quotes Caelius eleven times in the third decade, and he undoubtedly followed him in 22, 5, 8; 3, 11 (Cic. Div. 1, 35); 6, 1; ch. 49; 50, 11; 51, 2². The great question in dispute is whether Livy directly used Polybius' work. Lachmann, Peter and others maintain that he did; Nitzsch and others that he did not.

¹ For Epitome made by Brutus, **xxi.—xxx.**, cf. H. Peter, *H. R. R.*, cf. Cic. Att. 18, 8. **p. cccxxx.** To those cited above

² For the sources from which he adds Chaereas, Philinus and Liv. derived his materials for Ennius.

On the one hand it may be urged that the Greek historian is only once named (30, 45, 4)—*Polybius haudquaquam spernendus auctor*. But it is certain that in the next two decades Livy follows him closely, so that it seems unlikely that Livy should have overlooked his important third book on the Hannibalic War. Besides, we find remarkable coincidences in language as well as subject-matter between the two. Of course our author having to treat in this decade so much on home, as opposed to foreign, affairs would naturally recur most frequently to the Roman Annalists, whereas in the fourth and fifth decades his attention was directed much more to the affairs of Greece and the East. Unquestionably, as I have tried to show in my notes on Bks XXI. and XXII., the treatment of the Hannibalic War is based on two distinct sources, one foreign the other Roman. But notwithstanding the discrepancies, which might easily arise from confusing the two, it seems perfectly clear to my mind, on comparing the language of Livy with that of Polybius¹, that the foreign authority was Polybius. Nitzsch² and others, however, explain the obvious agreement between the Greek and the Roman by the fact that they are both following common authorities, which in the case of Bks XXI. and XXII. would be Fabius Pictor and Silenus, through the medium of Caelius Antipater³, while for 23—30 Livy's authority was probably Valerius Antias.

¹ Cf. Liv. xxii. 1, 3. 2. 3, 1—3; accurate than that of Polyb. and 5—10. 4, 1; 3—4; 6—7. 5, 3. 6, taken from one well acquainted with the spot, i.e. Antipater. 5—12. 7, 1; 5—7 with Pol. 3, 77—85. The inhabitants still point to a

² Cf. Hermann Peter Hist. Rom. Rel., p. cccxv (n). part near the village of Tuoro, thus corroborating Livy. Peter

³ Cf. Peter, l.c. cccxviii., who enumerates the passages due to Antipater. regards Livy's description of the battle of Trasumennus as more

Cf. Hübner, Grundriss zu Vorlesungen ü. d. Röm. Lit. The student of Livy would do well to read Niebuhr's Hist. of Rome, Lect. 8, Vol. I., 53—70, for an interesting discussion of the whole subject. Livy, he says, quotes the Annals of Fabius, Val. Antias, and Tubero, but he doubts whether he had read Cato's Origines, or used Quadrigarius for the period following the burning of Rome by the Gauls. "With Polybius he was unacquainted until after he had begun writing the Second Punic War, for had he known the incomparable critical and authentic account which Polybius gives of the war, he would not in the first period of it have used Caelius Antipater who wrote the history of it *ex professo*, and who, although his narratives were written in a beautiful style, was a wretched historian. The whole description of the siege of Saguntum is probably taken from Caelius Antipater. During this period he does not seem to have made use even of Cincius Alimentus." He adds that from the time of Philip of Macedon and throughout the fourth decade Livy simply translates Polybius into Latin¹. After touching upon Livy's high literary merits Niebuhr notices, among other defects, that his list of nations who revolted immediately after Cannae is "exceedingly incorrect, for it contains nations which did not revolt till several years later. He shews his want of criticism in the manner in which he relates at the beginning of the Second Punic War the tales of the siege of Saguntum and the passage of Hannibal across the Alps." (On this point he observes (I, 170) that Gen. Melville has proved

¹ But H. Peter, l.c. LXXXVI. (n.) *esse*. The supporters of this opinion are cited by C. Peter, Über die Quellen des XXI u. XXII Buches des Liv. p. 1.
says, *Mihi persuasum est, Polybium a Livio etiam in libro XXI et XXII adhibitum et magnam partem in sermonem Latinum versum*

by the strongest possible evidence that Hannibal marched across the Little St Bernard about the beginning of October)¹. Teuffel, Rom. L. 1, 500, asserts that Livy did not use Cato's *Origines* before the fourth decade, and Polybius not before Bk xxiii. But H. Peter on Val. Antias, p. cccxiii., says—*ego quidem in ea sententia persevero, ut in quibus rebus Polybius et Livius consentiant, eas a Livio ex ipso Polybio versa esse dicam itaque nec Caelius nec Valerius dux primarius Livio in hac (tertia) decade fuit—nam hunc locum obtinet Polybius—sed ut in quarta decade Claudius Quadrigarius et Valerius, ita in hac Caelius et Valerius in subsidium tantum vocati sunt.*

¹ Niebuhr notices Livy's critical honesty and accuracy in 21, 19, 1 *magis ex d. p. R. visa* 21, ch. 46; 22, ch. 7; but his *est, &c.* exaggeration in 22, 83, 9 *nullius,* &c.; and his misstatement in

ERRATA.

Page 56, col. 2, *in vulgus*, prefix 12.

„ 71 „ 1, 8...58, 3 (read 7).

„ 73 „ 2, *procursando*...41, 1 (read 2).

„ 174 „ 1, *animis*...4, 611, prefix Virg. A.



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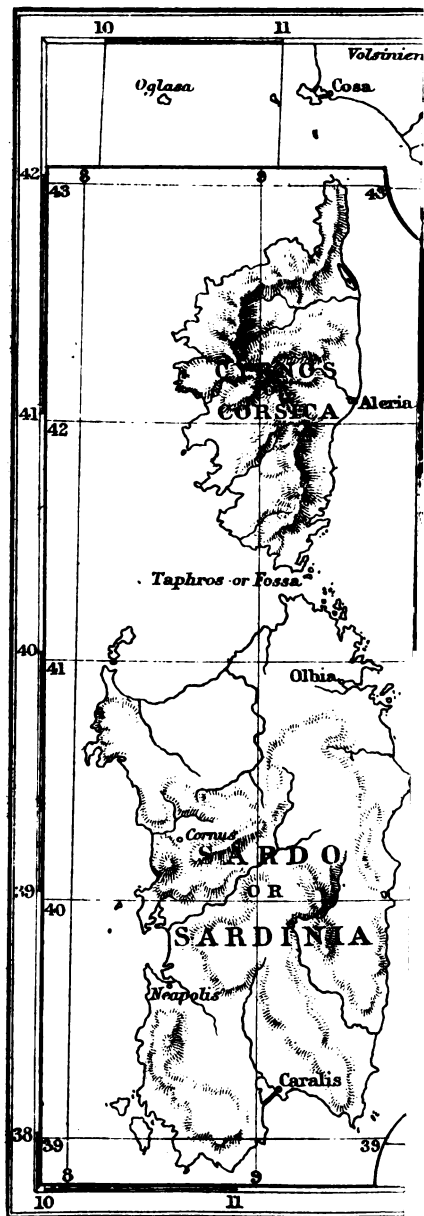
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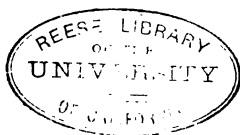
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LIVY XXII

CONTENTS.

Hannibal marches into Etruria. Battle of the Trasimene'lake and death of Flaminius. Consternation at Rome. Policy of the Dictator Fabius Maximus. Rashness of Minucius, who is rescued by Fabius. Hannibal devastates Campania. Battle of Cannae and death of Paullus. The courage and patriotism of the tribune Scipio. Honourable reception of Varro.

I. March, B.C. 217. *Hannibal leaves his winter quarters. Portents and expiations at Rome.*

1 IAM ver appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti
2 periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut

1. *ver* (Valla): *vero* P: cf. 21, Cf. 21, 58 and 59, 1: *et...et*=the two reasons for setting out.

58, 2. *itaque* Wfl.: P *adpetebatque*: *intol. frig. abl. abs.*=abl. of cause—21, 58, 2; cf. ib. 58, 1.

19, 11; 10, 20, 9. 2. *pro eo, ut...raperent* 'instead of their plundering'; for *pro* cf. 23, 28, f. *pro ope ferenda*: for phrase cf. 30, 10, f. *cum eo, ut appareret*; ib. 19, in. *in eo, ut obtineant*; 25, 6, m. *ab eo, ut quaereretur*; Caes. G. 5, 2 *ab eo, quin possent*: but *pro eo, ut tulit* (C. Verr. 3, 53, 54)='in proportion to what'.

movit, et nequicquam (Valla): P *metuit et neque eo quiam*.

ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re

raperent agerentque: for more usual form cf. 3, 7: L. 24, 16 *portari agique*—the latter word alludes to the driving away of cattle, the others to inanimate and portable things. Livy's phrase in Gk. would be ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς φέρειν καὶ ἀγεῖν: cf. Virg. A. 2, 374, with Scotch expression 'they reave and harry': for *rapio* = *diripio* cf. L. 40, 22 *villas r.*

hibernis, cf. 21, 56, 9: *utriusque*, &c. 'of the two armies' (lit. of the armies of either party—i.e. Romans at Placentia and Cremona, and Carthaginians).

videre Alsch.: *viderunt* vulg.: *viderent* P. The shortened perf. is archaic, as Weiss. remarks, and is therefore avoided by Cic. but is common in Liv. and other historians, cf. 45, 8; 49, 12: Liv. does not connect *postquam* with imperf. subj. in any certain instance, but either with indic. pres. 21, 13, 4; imperf. ib. 12, 4; or pluperf. infr. 48, 4.

verterunt &c. cf. 1, 53, 6.

3. *insidiis*: but Pol. 23, 13 asserts ἡν οὐδενὸς ἐπεβουλεύθη.

ipsorum &c. 'he was preserved by their own mutual treachery, while they exhibited the same

inconstancy in confessing, as in forming, the conspiracy': for *inter se* cf. 21, 28, 11; ib. 39, 7 and 9; so Plin. Ep. 7, 20 *ut invicem diligamus*; cf. L. 29, 23 *data ultro citroque fide*. Nägelsb. 282.

vestem: cf. Pol. 3, 78 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας μετελάμβανε τὰς καθηκούσας αἰ τὰς περιθέταις.

tegumenta c. cf. Pol. 1. c. κατεσκευάσματο περιθέτας τρίχας, ἀρμολούσας ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς τῶν ἡλικίων ἐπιπρεπείαις, καὶ ταύταις ἐχρήτο, συνεχῶς μετατιθέμενος. Juv. 6, 120 represents Messalina with a wig (*galerus*) of golden hair, as Suet. Cal. 11 represents Caligula (*capillamento*, elsewhere he has *galericulum*).

errore 'confusion' or 'uncertainty' produced in others; or perhaps we should take it as cause rather than effect, as in 9, 5; 21, 63, 14. Nägelsb. 167. Cf. 9, 15, f.; 31, 33, m.; Virg. A. 6, 27. Pol. says that Hannibal's disguise prevented him from being recognised by his familiar friends.

4. *hic timor*, sup. 1; 21, 46, 7. *idibus* M. Cf. 21, 63, 1. Liv. seems to refer to the Calendar as reformed by J. Caes., for at this time the Calendar was about two months in advance of the actual

publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidiam est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspici-
 6 esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre;
 7 nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra con-
 8 cipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus

year, and the 15th of March could scarcely agree with the opening sentence of this book. Cf. 21, 53, 6.

5. *de re p. &c.* Cf. 11, 1; 21, 6, 3.

invidia=*ira*, 'odium'. Cf. L. 3, 43 *inv. Decemviralis*. (*invidentia*=active, *invidia*=act. and pass.) Cf. 21, 63, 6: for position of *est* after part. cf. 21, 57, 14.

duos...creasse: for the frequent ellipse of the *verbum sentiendi* or *declarandi* to be supplied from foregoing cf. 19, 8; 21, 35, 8; *Madv.* 403.

quod...esse (emend. Lips.: *P esset*); for the rhetorical interrogation with infin. cf. 34, 9; 40, 2; 50, 5; 21, 30, 9. *Madv.* 405.

iustum imp. Flaminius had left the city without first obtaining the *Lex curiata de imperio* (after election in the Com. Centuriata), without which the consul could not command in the field. Cf. 5, 52, 16 *Comitia curiata, quae rem militarem continent; comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis*; Cic. Leg. Agr. contra Rullum 12. From 9, 38, f. it appears that the consul himself proposed the law, though we find an exception in 5, 46, f., where this law confers

the *imperium* on Camillus, when at Ardea. Cf. 26, 2, in., where the senate refuse to recognise Marcius as *propraetor*, because he had not duly received the *imperium*. Cf. Ihne 'Early Rome', p. 114. For a good comment on the text cf. 10, 8, 9: on *iustum* cf. 21, 3, 4: *illi*=Flaminio.

6. *Magistratus* (acc.)='magistrates only' op. *privatum* infr. 7: *id*=*auspicium*; cf. 21, 40, 3; ib. 63, 7 and 9—10. Flaminius was declared *vittio creatus*; he should therefore have resigned his appointment, cf. infr. 33, 12. For the five species of *auspicia* cf. Dict. Ant. p. 175.

publicis: the entire Roman family, like individual families, had its *Penates*, worshipped in probably two chapels on the Velia, under the form of two youths with lances. The oldest temple is identified with the vestibule of SS. Cosma e Damiano; the later = *Sacellum Larum*, Tac. A. 12, 24; L. 45, 16. For *publicis*, &c. cf. 25, 18, m.

Latinis &c. Cf. 21, 63, 8.

7. *auspicia*=subj. of verb *sequi*. Cf. 21, 63, 5.

ea (*auspicia*) *concipere*='to formulate', 'announce in a prescribed formula' (*conceptis verbis*): for the solemnity cf. 1, 18,

simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigiliis equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum, et Praeneste ardentem lapides

7—9. The verb is thus used with *iuriandum* (ib. 32, 8), *dies, ferias, templum*, &c. Cf. 5, 17, 2; Sil. 13, 745 *bella Latinis concepit*.

8. *militibus* sc. *Romanis*. Cf. 21, 49, 6: for dat.=gen. (common in Liv.) cf. 1, 39, 1 *puero caput arsisse ferunt*; Tac. A. 15, 7 has gen. *pila militum arsere*. Rob. 1152. For the portent cf. Liv. 33, 26, f.: Sil. It. 8, 628: such electrical flames on the heads of spears (St Helmo's fire) were usually considered good omens, cf. 43, 13, 6.

autem late MSS.: *audes* P: one MS. has *sudes*, hence J. Gron. conj. *Sulcis* (Sulci being a town in S. W. of Sardinia, mod. S. Antioco).

circumeunti, &c. 'as he went his rounds', the mil. term was *fraxare*=ἐφοδεύειν τὰς φυλάκας: the duty was generally performed by two *equites* in each of the four watches, though at times by the superior officers, centurions, tribunes, generals. Cf. 32, 26, f.; Sall. J. 45.

scipionem 'a staff'=sceptrum (Juv. 10, 43) conn. with σκήπτρομαι: for the proper name (cf. our 'Reed') see Munro Lucr. 3, 1034. It is uncertain whether the knight used it as a support or a sign of office, like our baton.

tenuerat: Stroth conj. *tenuerit*, cf. infr. 11; but Liv. often uses indic. for subj. in *or. obl.* cf. 21, 20, 8; 4, 41, in. *tenuerat*:

Madv. 369, 2.

9. *sanguine*: though this is reading of best MSS. we find *sanguinem* in other MSS. as well as in Val. Max. 1, 6, 5 who repeats (with this difference) *scuta...sudasse*: so *manare, rorare, stillare, pluere* &c. take either acc. or abl. Cf. 21, 62, 5; 27, 4, 14 *signa sanguine sudasse*.

minui=a partial eclipse; but it does not=deficio in astronomical sense.

Praeneste (mod. *Palestrina*, a corruption of *Praenestina* [*civitas*], a town in Latium; cf. 12, 2: for its origin cf. Virg. 7, 678. It rejected the Latin League in favour of Rome—L. 2, 19: for their defeats by Cincinnatus cf. L. 6, 26, 29: for their services to Rome in this war, cf. L. 23, 19, 20. Horace was fond of this place, cf. O. 3, 4, 23; Ep. 1, 2, 1. It had a famous temple of Fortune Ov. F. 6, 61. The people had a peculiar dialect, cf. Plaut. Trin. 3, I, 8; Quint. Inst. 1, 5, 56. Servius derives the name from πῑνός, as the ilex abounded there; Festus from *praesto*; Corss. 2, 216 regards the termination as a superlative. It was the great fortress of the Colonna family during the middle ages. For locative cf. Caere 21, 62, 8.

lapides=single meteoric stones, to be distinguished from a shower of stones, which had to be ex-

- caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pug-
 10 nantemque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas inter-
 diu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas
 fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse
 respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus cruentas in
 corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi velut
 11 magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen
 effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque

piated by the 'nine days' festi-
 val' 21, 62, 6. Drak. prefers
 reading of late MS. *lampades*:
 but text is supported by Plut.
 Fab. 2 *καὶ λήθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος*
διαπύρους καὶ φλεγόμενους φέρον-
θαι: on this and abl. *caelo* cf. 1,
 31, 2; infr. 38, 8.

Arpis: Arpi was an important
 city of Apulia (mod. Arpa near
 Foggia); cf. 9, 5; 12, 3.

10. *Capenae*: Capena was a
 town of Etruria (mod. Civitucola
 or S. Martino) at foot of Mt. So-
 racte. Cf. L. 5, 10. Ch. and B.
 render 'Capua' through over-
 sight.

interdiu, cf. 21, 32, 10; 1, 47,
 1. Gron. explains this word as
 = *interim dum diust*. Plaut. Aul.
 1, 1, 33 has form *interdius*—both
 = acc. neut.: cf. *dius* with *diu*,
 as *noctu diusque* Titinius ap.
 Char. The word is a collateral
 form of *dies*; cf. *diurnus* = *dius-*
nus. Corss. 2, 295. The root
div = brightness is found in *bid-*
uum (*bid(i)uum*), *Deus*, *Διός*.

aquas C. Cf. 36, 7; 21, 62,
 5. Caere was famous for its
 hot baths, the most celebrated
 being the "fountain of Hercules".
 Strab. 5, 3. For Caerētes cf.
 5, 16, 5: Liv. also has Caerites
 7, 19, 20.

ipsum: the MS. reading = *ipso-*
rum sc. *Caeritum*, const. *per syne-*

sin. Rup. conj. *frontem ipsam*,
 referring to his statue on the
 Capitol. Cf. 9, 44, f.

respersum C: P has *spersum*:
 vulg. *sparsum*. Cf. Epit. 50, in.
cicatricibus sparsum caput.

Antii late MSS.: P with three
 other MSS in *Antii*: J. F. Gron.
 conj. in *Antiati* sc. *agro* (ex-
 pressed 8, 12, in.)—so 33, 26, f.
 in *Capenati*; 41, 21, f. in *Lanuvio*:
 the gen. here = in the neigh-
 bourhood of Antium (a town in
 Latium—mod. Porto d'Anzo). Cf.
 21, 47, 7. This city was cele-
 brated for the temple of Fortune
 cf. Hor. O. 1, 35; here Cic. had
 a villa (cf. Cic. Att. 2, 1; Forsyth's
 Cic. p. 64); and here Caligula
 and Nero were born.

metentibus: a similar portent
 at the same place is mentioned
 28, 11, 2: note part., not verbal,
 =transitory act.

corbem sc. *messoriam*, still call-
 ed 'la corbella' in Italy: for an
 illustration cf. Rich s.v.

Faleriis: Falerii was a town
 of Etruria (mod. Civita Castel-
 lana), first mentioned L. 4, 17
 as in alliance with Veii.

findi: cf. Sil. It. 1, 135 *rupto-*
que polo micat igneus aether.

11. *quaque patuerit* 'from the
 opening': for the circumlocution
 cf. Nögelsb. 123.

sortes: cf. 21, 62, 5 and 8.

excidisse ita scriptam: "Mavors telum suum concutit", et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis 12 Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides 13 habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam

excidisse, i.e. probably from the string on which they were strung together.

scriptam=*inscriptam*: cf. Ov. H. 14, 128; Mart. 11, 4, 3; so *scribam*=*inscribam* Cat. 37, 10.

telum=*hastam* 21, 62, 4. Plut. Fab. 2 strangely connects this with *caelum* *findi*, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ Φαλέρους οὐρανοῦ ραγῆναι δόξαντος ἐκπίπτειν καὶ διασπείρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν Ἄρης τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ὅπλα σαλεύει.

Mavors = Mars (by contraction), another form of which is the Oscan Mamers. Cic. N. D. 3, 24 derives the name from *magna verto*; others refer the first part to *mas* (*maris*); but it is probably conn. with *mactō*, μάχη. His surnames Silvanus, Gradivus, and Quirinus point to his threefold character=God of country (agriculture, flocks, &c.), war, and state (Quirinus=the spear-bearer fr. *quiris*). Cf. Keight. Myth. 461. As the primitive chief divinity of the Italians he gave his name, not merely to the Roman 'Plain' for exercise, but also to the first month of the year (hence 'March' cf. sup. 4; so Fr. Mars, Mardi, It. Martedì, Sp. Martes). Cf. 9, 9; 10, 9.

12. *signum*: this 'statue' doubtless stood in the temple of Mars on the Appian Way, where we now see the church of S. Sebastiano, cf. Ov. F. 6, 191. This road constructed by the censor

Appius Claudius Caecus B. C. 312 extended from the Porta Capena at Rome to Capua: cf. 15, 11; and Stat. S. 2, 2, 11 *limite noto* | *Appia longarum teritur regina viarum*.

ac P: *ad* vulg. after late MSS. (which Spillan renders 'at the sight of'). These 'images' no doubt stood near the statue of Mars, as the wolf was sacred to him (cf. Hor. O. 1, 17, 9), and had nurtured his children Romulus and Remus. In memory of the latter event I saw two wolves kept in a cage on the left of the steps ascending to the Capitol.

sudasse sc. *sanguine*, sup. 9: so Zon. 8, 22 αἷμα ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων ὤφθη.

Capuae: Capua (mod. S. Maria di Capoa) was the chief city of Campania, originally named Vulturinus—for its etymology cf. 4, 37, 1: in the time of the 1st Samnite war Livy describes it as *urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae* 7, 31, 1.

lunaque: this portent, resembling a shooting-star, is also mentioned by Jul. Obseq. C. Laetio L. Domitio Coss. *Vulsiniis novam lunam decidisse*. Drak. and Luterb. prefer *lanaeq.* cf. Oros. 7, 32 *lana de nubibus pluviae mixta defluxit*.

13. *minoribus dictu* 'less important': the pass. supine is properly a noun in the abl.=part concerned, and is used by Liv.

- 14 in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His,
 sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam
 15 introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. De-
 cretum, ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis,
 partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio
 16 per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera,
 quum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent,
 quemadmodum cordi esse divis e carminibus prae-
 17 farentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Iovi

about 50 times, by Cic. 80, while Sall. has only 6, and Caes. 2.

lanatas sc. *oves*—so *laniger*, *bidens*, *setiger*, *sonipes*: this descriptive nomenclature, is common in Gk. Cf. ἡ ἀνθεμουργός, ἔλλοψ, φερέοικος, &c.

feminam=*gallinam*: for this use cf. 21, 28, 8.

sese vertisse=*verti*. Cf. *se commovisse*=*motam esse* 21, 62, 4.

14. *sicut* 'just as' i.e. without addition or omission. Cf. 21, 49, 6.

expositis 'having been detailed' (lit. 'set forth') by the consul Servilius at the sitting of the senate, March 15.

auctoribus 'his informants', those who testified to these portents.

15. *maioribus*, cf. 21, 62, 7. Servius states that old animals were offered as victims, when the object was to effect something speedily; but young ones when the desire was that something should be increased or strengthened.

lactentibus 'sucklings'. Cf. 37, 3, m.

pulvinaria, cf. 21, 62, 9.

16. *triduum*: special efficacy was attributed to the number three. Cf. 10, 7. Though the senate decreed the proper expiations,

they usually consulted the Pontifex Maximus as the head of the state religion. Cf. 10, 1; Seeley Int. p. 96.

decemviri, &c. Cf. 21, 62, 6.

divis late MS.: P *divinis*: J. Gron. *Divi suis*: Vulg. *Divi*: *e* is due to Madv. cf. 10, 10.

carminibus: the Greek Sibylline oracles were written in a poetical form; cf. 38, 45, in. *carminibus Sibyllae*; Virg. Ec. 4, 4 (Conington's note).

praeferantur 'in accordance with what the Decemvirs should pronounce', 'declare'; Gron. conj. *profarentur*, so Madv.; but text is supported by 5, 41, 3 *praeferantur carmen*; cf. 43, 13, 8 *decemviri praeterunt*; elsewhere *edere*, as 10, 10.

17. *Decemvirorum* Gron.: *idui-rorum* P.

Iovi, &c. The famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was finished under Tarquin the Proud: it contained three *cellae*, the centre belonging to Jupiter, and the other two to Juno and Minerva, and was dedicated B.C. 506, L. 2, 8, m. Its site is occupied by the present church of Ara Caeli. Cf. Meriv. 5, 31. On Jupiter cf. infr. 9, 10; 10, 9—10; 21, 63, 8.

primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam

primum: note absence of corresponding *deinde*. Cf. 2, 10; 21, 62, 7.

fulmen, 'thunderbolt': cf. Ov. F. 1, 202.

pondo sc. *librarum*. Cf. 21, 62, 8; *infr.* 23, 6; 37, 5.

fieret, for jussive subj. in quasi dependence on *decretum est*. Cf. Rob. 1606.

Iunoni, cf. 21, 62, 4 and 8: *Minervaeque*, cf. 7, 3, m.: the primitive form is *Menerva*, conn. with *mens*, *moneo*, hence in archaic Lat. *promenervat* = *monet*. Note hexameter ending.

Sospitae, cf. 8, 14, 4: with this collateral fem. of *sospes* cf. *cli-enta*, *hospita*, *antistita*.

18. *quantum* sc. *pecuniae*: Gron. prefers *quantam* (cf. 25, 12, 14): P *quintum conferrent quique*.

lectisternium, cf. 21, 62, 9.

fieret C²: *fieretque* PC¹; hence Gron. reads *fieret*; *quin* (so vulg.): for *quin et* cf. 33, 46, f.

et ipsae: i.e. as well as the matrons. Stroth, accepting vulg. *et l. ut ipsae*, understands the last words = like the matrons themselves, on the ground that *ipse* = 'the master', *ipsa* 'the mistress'. Cf. Cat. 3, 7. Macrobi. 1, 6, 13 mentions that during this war, by direction of the Sibylline oracles, freedwomen were allowed to contribute, and their children to wear the *praetexta*. This

was the first occasion on which the freedmen were permitted to join in religious ceremonies, while at the same time they were enrolled in the legions. Cf. 11, 8. On the three classes of freedmen and the three ways of manumission cf. Just. Inst. 1, 5 (Santars). A man was called *libertus* (ἀπελεύθερος) with respect to his patron (Hor. S. 2, 3, 122), but *libertinus* as to his condition. *unde* = *ex qua* (sc. *pecunia*); cf. 49, 17; 21, 10, 9.

Feroniae: the goddess Feronia had three sanctuaries in Italy, (1) at Feronia (mod. Acqua Felonica) in Etruria between Capena and Mt. Soracte, which is probably meant here, and 1, 30, 5 (though Preller R. Myth—cf. 357 and 377—refers the latter to Trebula of the Sabines); (2) between Pisae and Luna; (3) near Tarracina (on site of mod. Torre di Terracina): in this temple there was a seat on which if a slave sat he received his freedom, with the emblematical *pileus*. This is the place referred to by Virg. A. 7, 800; Tac. H. 3, 76; Hor. S. 1, 5, 24, where Torren-tius (and Seeley on Liv. 1, 30, 5) quotes the Greek titles given to this Sabine goddess, who presided over freedmen and flowers, i.e. Ἀνθηφόρος, Φειλοστέφανος, and Φερσεφόνη, Dion. Hal.

- 19 pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum (et eum lectum senatores straverunt)
- 20 et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

3, 32; Keightley's Myth. p. 483. The name is variously derived a *ferendis frugibus*, or from *feror* = *φέρωμαι* alluding to the Lacedaemonian colonists; but note quantity of first vowel. Feronia was especially worshipped by Sabines, Umbrians and Etruscans.

19. *Ardeae*: Ardea, which still retains its name, was the capital of the Rutuli in Latium: cf. 1, 57, 1; 21, 7, 2. No portent had occurred here; thus too when the *columna rostrata* on the Capitol was struck by lightning B.C. 172 a sacrifice was offered not only on the spot, but also in Campania, 40, 20, 3. In the city there was a celebrated temple of Juno, and at some distance from the city one dedicated to Aphrodite.

Decembri, B.C. 217. For a repetition of these ceremonies cf. 9, 8.

Saturni: this temple was dedicated B.C. 497, cf. 2, 21, in., and was used as the state-treasury. It was situated at the foot of the Capitoline hill and at the top of the Forum, and was standing almost entire when Poggio saw it in the 15th cent. One sees now only eight Ionic columns of granite to mark the spot.

et eum: Madv. rejects *et*, but

Liv. often uses it parenthetically = *et quidem*. Cf. 21, 12, 7; 34, 32, in.

senatores: this was unusual, as the Duumvirs or Decemvirs were charged with the entire arrangement of the banquet for the gods. Cf. 5, 13, m. *Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio... facto, Apollinem..... stratis lectis placavere*; cf. 21, 62, 9.

20. *S. clamata* Gron.: *clamata* M: *clamatum* vulg.: the latter may be rendered "the people exclaimed 'the Saturnalia!'" throughout the day and night" (where *Saturnalia* = voc.). Cf. 24, 10, f. *infantem, Io triumphes! clamasse*; but cf. 21, 62, 2. The text, however, is supported by Macrobi. Sat. 1, 10, 18 *apud aedem Saturni convivio dissoluto Saturnalia clamitabantur*; cf. L. 45, 38, s. f. *triumphum nomine cient*. The cry was *Io Saturnalia!* which Burm. would read here. The Saturnalia, analogous to our Christmas festivities or the Carnival at Rome, took place on Dec. 19, and at first lasted for only one day (hence *eum diem*), though subsequently for seven. Liv. 2, 21, in. places the institution of the festival in B.C. 497. For the liberty then accorded to slaves cf. Hor. S. 2, 3, 5.

II. *Hannibal advances into Etruria. Sufferings of the troops in crossing the marshes of the Arnus.*

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque 1
dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis,
quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse
fama erat, quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius 2
ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit,

1. *dis habendoque* MS. Ber.: *distrahendo* P: hence Gron. and Drak. read *trahendo*=delaying; but such policy on the part of Servilius would be illtimed and absurd.

dilectu (on spelling, cf. CIL 3, 6067, Riem. 214)=dative. Cf. 11, 5; 9, 5, 6; 4, 12, f. *usu*; 7, 2, m. *versu*. This ancient form (parallel to *pernicie*=*perniciet* 5, 12, 4, &c.) is common in Tac. Cf. Tac. A. 3, 33, m.; Plaut. Rud. 2, 1, 5; Prop. 1, 13, 30; ib. 2, 1, 66; Virg. G. 4, 158 and 198; A. 6, 465; 9, 605.

dat operam, cf. 21, 45, 6. Liv. omits to mention the number of the Roman army; but Appian H. 8, supplies the deficiency. The strength of the army was raised to thirteen legions, and twice as many demanded from the Italian allies. Two legions were sent to Spain, and one to Sicily, Sardinia and Tarentum respectively. Servilius received two fresh legions, together with the remainder of Scipio's two, while Flaminius got two new legions with the remainder of those of Sempronius. The contingents of the Italian allies and Latin name were divided between the consuls.

ex hibernis: Hann.'s quarters were in Liguria, cf. 21, 59, 10. Two approaches to Rome lay before him, either from Ariminum

by the Flaminian Way (infr. 11, 5), or across the Apennines through Etruria. He preferred the latter partly (according to Pol. 3, 78, 6) as the more direct, partly as he doubtless received intelligence respecting the character of Flaminius, who was there opposed to him, and whose rashness and impetuosity found their parallel in Sempronius (21, 54, 8), whereas Servilius would probably avoid an engagement until joined by his colleague.

Arretium (mod. Arezzo): this was one of the most powerful cities of Etruria, ranking with Volsinii, Perugia and Cortona (9, 37, f.; 10, 37, in.), and an important military position, being the key of Etruria and the Tiber valley from the north.

2. *aliud*, i.e. by Ariminum. Hann. avoided the other routes by Luna, Bononia, &c., because of their distance, or as being probably guarded by the enemy (Pol. l. c.), and running close to fortified towns in alliance with Rome, though much weight is not to be attached to the last point, when we remember Mago's advance towards Placentia, 21, 47, 7. Strab. 5, 2, 9 says that the way by Ariminum and Umbria was avoided, as H. knew that it was well guarded.

propiorem: crossing the Apennines he probably reached the

qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inun-
 3 daverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur
 exercitus admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi
 consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, pri-
 mos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium
 4 esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum
 expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si

neighbourhood of Pistoria, thence passing through the marshy ground to Faesulae (3, 3), thence past Arretium to Cortona (4, 1), as far as Lake Trasumennus (6, 7), thence to Spoletium (9, 1), where he altered his forward march, proceeding to Picenum (9, 2).

paludes conj. Rup., cf. 3, 1: *paludem* vulg. with MSS. These marshes lay between the Auser and Arnus, and are still represented in part by the L. Fucecchio and Bientina, north of the Arno, though probably the low ground in which Florence lies was then more liable to the inundations of that river in the spring, and was also a marsh at that period of the year, as well as in winter. Strab. 5, 1, 11 erroneously places these marshes in the valley of the Po.

solito m. cf. 14, 2.

inundaverat 'had overflowed': this intrans. use is rare. Liv. always uses the acc. after this verb, except here and 8, 24, m., where *campis* is not dat. but abl., as Fab. shews.

3. *et (omne)* 'and generally', or simply expegetical as in 21, 55, 2, and Pol. 3, 79, 1 (which is here closely copied) *ἐς τὴν πρωτοπορίαν ἔθηκε τοὺς Ἀλβανὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ πάν τὸ χρησιμώτερον μέρος τῆς σφετέρας δυνάμεως*. For other nationalities in Hann.'s army, which may possibly be meant here (as opposed to troops

from Gaul), cf. 21, 22, 2—3. P reads *et o. v. erat*; Gron. conj. *id* for *et* (so vulg.): old edd. *et o. quod v. erat*. Probably *erant* sprang from a dittography and was altered into the sing. by a corrector.

ipsorum 'their own baggage' exclusively; but cf. Pol. l. c. *συγκαταμίξας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀποσκευήν*, which would imply the entire baggage.

necubi = *ne-cubi*, i. e. *ne alicubi*; cf. 16, 5; 28, 8; *ne-cunde*, i. e. *ne alicunde*, 23, 10; the initial *c* (= *k* - i. e. *ka*) is lost in *ubi* and *unde*, but is preserved in the pronoun—*hic* = *hi-ce*, *nunc* = *nun-ce*, *sic* = *si-ce*: so *ka* is found in Sansk. *kas* = *quis*, *κῶς*, &c. Cf. Ferrar's Comp. G. p. 43.

necessaria, &c. = *commeatus*, *res frumentaria*. Pol. l. c. is more precise, *ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εὐπορώσι τῶν ἐπιτηδίων*.

Gallos = subject.

id = *ii*, the Gauls; cf. 6, 3; 21, 10, 12 (where vulg. with two of best MSS. has *id* for *ad*); ib. 31, 10: Rob. 1068.

4. *cogere* (= *claudere*) *agmen* = 'to bring up the rear', 'close the line', cf. 44, 4, f. Liv. seems to make four divisions, while Pol. gives only three, Mago having charge of the *novissimum agmen* = *οὐρά, οὐραγία*.

maxime, &c. 'especially to restrain the Gauls', *cohibentem* = *cohibiturum*. Cf. 21, 6, 2 *orantes*.

taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia
gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem.
Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii 5
ac profundas voragine, hausti paene limo immer-
gentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli ne- 6
que sustinere se prolapsi neque assurgere ex vo-
raginibus poterant, aut corpora animis aut animos
spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, 7
alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent,
inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes;
maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quatri-

mollis ad, &c. 'without energy to endure such hardships': on the Gallic temperament cf. 21, 25, 6. Cf. the estimate of them formed by Camillus 5, 44, m.; also 7, 12, m.; 10, 28, in.; 27, 48, f.; 34, 47, m.; 38, 17, m.; Sil. It. 4, 313; 8, 16. Pol. and others give them the same character.

dilaberentur, cf. 21, 32, 10; here sc. *ab signis* = 'should fall away', 'desert'—ἀπονεύειν εἰς τοῦτον Pol.

5. *qua (parte) modo*, 'wherever (provided that', 'if only') the guides led the way': for this restrictive sense of *qui modo* or *quidem* with subj. cf. 33, 3, in. Adv. 364, 2: for subj. cf. 11, 8.

praealtas, &c. 'very deep and almost bottomless (unfathomable) depths': *prae*...*v.* recur in 44, 8, 6, as a characteristic of the Enipeus.

limo: so Liv. 31, 38, m. speaking of the battle at Octolophus, says *in paludes coniecti profundo limo hausti sunt*.

immergentesque se sc. in aquam: Pol. 3, 79, however, states that while crossing the marshes they found certain στερεοὺς τόπους.

tamen = apodosis to *hausti* (for

quamquam hausti sunt, cf. 21, 49, 9): for this use after part. cf. infr. 11; 13, 3: so in Greek the protasis often = a part. with *δμως* in apodosis, as in Herod. 6, 120 ἀνικήμενοι ἡμετέρῳ *δμως*.

6. *sustinere*, &c. 'recover their footing when they slipped', cf. 5, 21, 16 *prolapsum cecidisse*: a very similar passage occurs 21, 35, 12. Crevier needlessly transposes *prol. n.*

aut: most mod. edd. prefix *nec* after conj. of Perizon. *neque*; but *aut* may stand, after *neque*... *neque*, as negative, cf. Cic. Fam. 2, 19 *neque unde, nec quo die, aut quo tempore significabant*. Walk. proposes *haud...haud* for *aut...aut*, which though plausible is unnecessary. Cf. 25, 9, in. *nec diverti, aut excedere paterentur*.

7. *alii...alii* explanatory respectively of *aut corpora, aut animos*, and therefore nom. to *sustinebant*.

procubuissent = *conjunctiv. iterativ.* Cf. 38, 3; 21, 46, 6.

et ipsa, cf. 1, 18.

maximeq. omnium, cf. 23, 49, f. *vigiliae* here = ἀγρυπνία.

conficiebant sc. *Poenos*: cf. use of *afficio* 8, 3.

8 duum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Quum, omnia
 obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent
 corpora, inveniri posset, cumulat in aqua sarcinis
 9 insuper incumbebant, aut iumentorum itinere toto
 prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret
 aqua, quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis neces-
 10 sarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis
 ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigora-
 que, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab

quatriduum: this great length of time for a journey of ten hours is the best evidence of what Hann. had to encounter: we may compare the time he took to reach the summit of the Alps 21, 35, 4.

8. *obtainentibus* 'covered'.

in sicco, cf. 3, 1; 1, 4, 6: Liv. is fond of such adverbial phrases (cf. 4, 4; 12, 10; 21, 11, 8; ib. 32, 7; Rob. 1976 (n), particularly with reference to place, as here; so *in plano*, *summo*, *aequo*, *ex occulto*, &c. Cf. Nägelsb. 73.

aqua Finckh: *aquas* vulg. after P.

sarcinis 'baggage' of each soldier = food, clothes, &c., distinguished from the collective baggage of the army = *impedimenta*, cf. sup. 3.

insuper incumbebant (= *superincumbant*) sc. *nonnulli*: though Liv. has *superincubanti* 51, 9, *superincumbo* occurs only in Ovid; cf. 21, 1, 5; 39, 50, in.

9. *aut* conj. Hertz, after conj. of Duker = *vel*. Hannibal's troops are divided into two classes, (1) those who lay on the baggage, (2) and those who lay on the beasts of burden.

tantum = object to *quaerentibus*, 'to those who merely looked for a dry spot above the water': Stroth strangely regards it as in apposition to *acervi*—'heaps of

sumpter cattle, i.e. as much of them as rose above the water' &c., while *quaerentibus* is taken absolutely, with *cubile* understood.

necessarium, 'indispensable': cf. Eur. Or. 230 δέμῳ ἀναγκαῖον.

10. *aeger*, cf. the metaphor in Tac. H. 2, 20 *aegris oculis introspicere* 'with an evil eye' = *animo iniquo intueri*.

primum, we should have expected a corresponding *deinde* before the second reason given, i.e. *vigiliis*, as in 6, 30, s. f., but cf. sup. 1, 17. Note hexameter *verna...calores*; cf. 21, 9, 3.

intemperie: 'trying (or 'unseasonable') weather': a good comment is 5, 13, s. m.

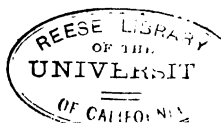
variante, &c. 'with its alternations of heat and cold'. Liv. uses the verb both as active and neuter. Cf. 21, 28, 5; infr. 60, 3.

calores: plur. = repeated manifestations of heat, on different days. Cf. 1, 1; 21, 58, 1.

unus, i.e. of the 37, which he had brought from Spain. Cf. 21, 56, 6; ib. 58, 11.

quo = *ut eo* 'so that by this means he might be the higher above the water': for this common use of *quo* with comparative cf. Madv. 440, b, 1.

ab aqua: prep. here denotes



aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno 11
humore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia
medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo
capitur.

✓ III. *Hannibal marches to Faesulae. Flaminius
rashly pursues him, in spite of bad omens.*

Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis quum 1
tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco
potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos ex-
ploratores habuit, exercitum Romanum circa Arretii

distance from surface, op. simple threatened to deprive Hann. of
abl. sup. 9 = out of the water it- his other eye, if he removed a
self: for the local sense cf. 21, gold column from her temple.

5, 7.
11. *vigiliis...caelo*: these abls. 1. *foede* = *turpiter*, i.e. the
are abls. abs., though the verb loss of men in the marshes was
agrees only with the last, by disgraceful, whereas in battle it
which it gains special emphasis, would have been glorious, while
cf. Madv. 213, b. The abl. in fighting against the foe: this
this idiom is properly an abl. of seems better than 'amid horri-
attendant circumstances. ble misery' C. and B. Cf. 6, 1, f.

tamen P: *tandem* vulg. after *cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum.*

Heinsius. *de pal.*: *de* instead of *ex* (1, 13,

caelo 'climate', 'air'. 5), or abl., is ἀπαξ λεγ. in a clas-
gravante = *afficiente*, 'affect- sical author with this verb, though
ing'. found with other verbs, cf. 21,

et quia: note change of ex- 48, 6.
pression, cf. 52, 3.

altero, &c. 'he loses one eye':

the phrase occurs in a different 3, 82, 1.
sense 21, 58, 5. Cf. Epit. 22, in.: *c. locat*, which Liv. varies 29,

so Pol. 3, 79 τέλος ἐστρεφθήναι τῆς 28, 1 c. *metantur*; in late Lat.

μάς ὀφθαλμοῖς; Tac. H. 4, 13; Juv. this becomes *castrametari*, cf.

10, 157; Sil. It. 4, 764; Apul. D. Vulg. Ios. 4, 19, &c. (ed. Tischen-

Soer. 7. On the other hand C. dorf). *certumq. habuit* 'learnt' = *pro*

Nep. Hann. 4, states that Hann. *certo h.*, *certior factus est*. Cf.

in crossing the Apennines had so 28, 40, m.

severe an attack of ophthalmia

that he never recovered the full

use of his right eye. Plutarch

relates that Philip and Antigon-

us also had each but one eye.

Coel. Antip. 34 (Peter Hist. Rom.

Rel. p. 157) relates that Juno

ubi, i.e. near Faesulae. Pol.

3, 82, 1.

c. locat, which Liv. varies 29,

28, 1 c. *metantur*; in late Lat.

this becomes *castrametari*, cf.

Vulg. Ios. 4, 19, &c. (ed. Tischen-

dorf). *certumq. habuit* 'learnt' = *pro*

certo h., *certior factus est*. Cf.

28, 40, m.

Arretii: Servilius being at

Ariminum and Flaminius at

Arretium, the Roman forces were

thus (as Arnold 3, 104 observes)

nearly in the same positions as

when eight years previously the

consul L. Aemilius near the for-

mer city and a praetor's army in

- 2 *moenia esse*. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur.
- 3 Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac
- 4 pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens;

Etruria prepared to dispute the advance of the Gauls, while the enemy eluded the vigilance of the Romans in both cases, passing on towards Arretium.

2. *situm regionum*, cf. 38, 9.

itineraque 'roads', rather than 'his movements', C. and B., as the *que* marks the second member as a continuation of the first, i.e. *situm*, cf. Madv. 433.

copias, &c. 'the resources which the country offered for obtaining supplies'. Cf. 5, 26, f. *frumentum copiaeque aliae*.

in rem = *usui eius*, 'important for him'. Cf. 29, 8; 20, 6: so 32, 21, in. *quae e re sua essent*; 35, 32, m. *non ab re esse*.

omnia sums up what precedes.

inq. exsequebatur 'carefully investigated': this verb is frequently used with abl. of gerund *quaerendo*, 6, 14, f., *percunctando* 9, 3, f., *sciscitando* 25, 29, f.: so *persequor* 3, 20, in. The phrase indicates an inquiry continued and prosecuted with care. Liv. makes a larger use of the abl. of gerund than other writers. Cf. Rob. 1386.

3. *in primis* 'one of the most fruitful in Italy': for the gen. cf. Cic. Verr. 2, 35 *in primis Siciliae clarum*; also Gr. *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις* Madv. G. S. 96, 2.

Etrusci, &c., i.e. the fertile plains where Florence now stands, though probably inferior to those of Campania. Cf. Smith's G. D. s. v.

Faesulas, *Faesulae* (mod. Fiesole) was a city in Etruria, which became celebrated as the headquarters of Catiline. Sall. C. 24, &c. Sil. It. 8, 478 refers to its fame for augury. *Affuit et sacris interpres fulminis alis Faesula*, though this was a characteristic of the Etruscans in general. Cf. Liv. 5, 15.

inter: for the anastrophe, chiefly after relative pron., common in Tac. (e.g. Tac. A. 4, 50) and poets, cf. 28, 14, in., Rob. 1805. Cf. 21, 52, 11.

4. *ab consulatu*, alluding to B.C. 223. Cf. 21, 63, 7: the prep. = 'from the time of', cf. 30, 36, 1, though involving also the cause, cf. 34, 2; 21, 54, 6 (where *ferox* occurs with abl.).

non modo 'I do not say': for omission of *non* following, cf. 28, 5: this is limited to the case when there is a common predicate standing in the final clause, cf. 1, 40, 2. Rob. 2240. Cf. use of *οὐχ ὅπως... ἀλλὰ καὶ*.

legum = decree of people, *patrum* of senate. Cf. 21, 63, 6.

metuens: for gen. after part. =

hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consu-
 5 lentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque
 6 irritare Poenus parat, et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui
 7 ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero,

adj., i. e. implying a quality, not an action, cf. *Madv.* 289, a: *Hor.* O. 1, 3, 1; *ib.* 3, 9, 10; S. 2, 2, 110; *Luc.* 7, 373 *domini metuentem*; *Liv.* 21, 31, 11.

civilibus: alluding to his agrarian law B. C. 220, Flaminian Way, and Fl. Circus, cf. 27, 21, 1, to which we may add his second consulship.

bellicis, i. e. his defeat of the Insubres, B. C. 223, on the Addua.

5. *ferociter* 'in a headstrong manner', answering to *ferox* sup. 4: for the collocation, cf. 19, 10.

quoque, &c. 'and that he might be the more inclined to indulge' = final subj. *Rob.* 1642.

6. *laeva*: a glance at the map will show that, if the text be correct, Livy's geographical knowledge is defective. Hann. is marching southwards—therefore the Romans at Arretium would be on his left if he were marching from, not towards, Faesulae: hence Voss conj. *a Faesulis p. medios E. agros*; but I would suggest as simpler to read *praeteriens* for *petens*, as the latter might have been easily substituted by the negligence of a scribe, which would coincide with the direction of Hann.'s march ac-

cording to *Pol.* 3, 82 *ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Φαισόλαν τόπων*.

medio = abl. of way with *profectus*, cf. 21, 38, 6: others less correctly connect it with *praedatum*, cf. 31, 3 (note).

praedatum = acc. of verbal subst. dependent on *profectus*, as in *Sall. J.* 103; cf. *Liv.* 25, 39, m.

quantam m. v. p. 'the greatest possible devastation', cf. 21, 41, 4; *Sall. J.* 13, 2.

7. *Flaminius*: note distance from verb *proripuit* § 9.

quieturus erat: this periphrasis is called *futurum in praeterito* *Madv.* 342. There is so much exaggeration of the faults of Flam. in Livy's account of him, that we cannot help feeling that the plebeian consul is unfairly dealt with, owing to "the unquenchable hatred of the Roman aristocracy to the author of an agrarian law." Cf. *Arn.* 3, 110. Mommsen's estimate of him recalls the Greek demagogue Cleon. No doubt the wiser course would have been to have waited for Servilius, before giving battle; but after a defeat it is notoriously easy to indicate errors in strategies, as modern history proves.

- postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri-
agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam
Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad
8 ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris om-
nibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa
suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunc-
tis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem
9 gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armo-
rum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum,
iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul
10 itineris pugnaeque quum *dedisset*, "Immo Arretii
ante moenia sedeamus" inquit; "hic enim patria et

It is strange, however, that Polybius should show similar prejudices against this consul; but probably this is due, as Schmitz suggests, to Scipio, the friend of the historian, who saw in him the forerunner of the Gracchi.

tum vero, in apodosis after *postquam*, contrasting actual with supposed case. Cf. 3, 66, f. *ferri agique*. Cf. 1, 2. *suum*=predicate, 'a personal disgrace'.

mediam iam I.: note Homoeoteleuta common in Liv., cf. *infr. ipsa*, &c.; Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 24, 53 *rerum formidolosarum contrariumque perfendarum aut omnino neglegendarum*.

8. *ceteris*, &c. 'while all the other officers in his council of war urged him to adopt measures of safety rather than display'. The *consilium militare* or *castrense*, under the presidency of the consul, consisted of the chief staff officers—*legati*, military tribunes, and chief centurions; cf. *praetorium* 21, 54, 3. Cf. *infr.* 53, 6. Pol. does not mention a formal council, merely stating that 'certain persons' (*τινές*) were of this opinion.

collegam: Servilius, hearing that Hann. had invaded Etruria, abandoned his now useless position at Ariminum (21, 63, 15) to join Flam., sending a body of cavalry in advance, *infr.* 8, 1.

9. *equitatu*: for Livy's use of instrumental abl. of a rational agent (instead of *per* with acc.), cf. 21, 46, 5; *Madv.* 254, 3; *Rob.* 1220, 1221: for *levia arma*=*levis armatura*, cf. 37, 7; 45, 7.

effusa: *Duk.* conj. *effuse*, cf. 21, 46, 9; but the hypallage is supported by *ib.* 10, 12.

signum: the signal for marching was given with the *tuba* to the infantry, with the *lituus* to the cavalry (the *bucina* being used for relieving guard, &c.): the signal for battle was usually given by the *vexillum russi coloris* hoisted on the general's tent (*praetorium*); cf. *Caes. G.* 2, 20; *L.* 21, 59, 4.

p. q. dedisset (late MS.): *Madv.* and late edd. adopt conj. of Heerw. *proposuisset*, cf. 45, 5: *P. pugnaeque cum immo*: vulg. *pq. proposuit. Quin immo*, &c.

10. *Immo*—ironical.

sedeamus: cf. 21, 48, 9: so *asideo* 23, 19, *in.* implies waste of

penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpō-
puletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad
Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc move-
rimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Fla-
minium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Haec simul 11
increpans quum ocus signa convelli iuberet et ipse
in equum insilisset, equus repente corruit consulem-
que lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, 12
qui circa erant, velut foedo omine incipiendae rei,
insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signi-

time, 'to sit idle', like ἡμαι, κάθη-
μαι = *desideo*.

penates. Cf. 1, 6.

emissus, &c. Cf. 41, 3; 21, 48,
6.

vastando: for abl. of gerund.
cf. 21, 43, 8; 1, 6, 6; Rob. 1385.

nec moverimus, cf. 21, 43, 11:
for perf. subj. in prohibitions
cf. Rob. 1596, 1602; Madv. 386.

ab Veis: the statement is not
quite accurate, as it was the
Romans in Veii who summoned
Camillus from Ardea B.C. 390
(cf. 5, 46, in. and f.), from whence
he marched to Rome (ib. 49, 1).
Cf. words of Lentulus 9, 4, f. *an
a Veis exercitum Camillumque
ducem implorabunt?* See infr.
14, 11. Luterb. writes *Veis*, as
Latin authors avoid the sound
of *ii*, so gen. *fili, oti, Pompei,
Arreti* (sup. 10, &c. ed. Weis.).

acciverint: fut. perf.; cf. 42,
52, f. *ante...quam defuerit*: the
fut. simple is not thus used, but
is represented by pres. indic.,
cf. infr. 50, 8. In negative sen-
tences *antequam* is divided.

11. *Haec*, &c. 'when with this
rebuke on his lips he was order-
ing the standards to be drawn
from the ground with all speed',
&c.

simul increpans is found also
in 1, 26, 3. Liv. often combines

temporal advs. with the part.;
so *extemplo adveniens, statim
creati*, a common idiom in Greek,
cf. *αὐτίκα γενόμενος*: Madv. G. S.
175. Cf. infr. 12, 4; 4, 13, m.

s. convelli, cf. 5, 37, m.; Tac.
A. 1, 20: so *vello* and *evello* are
used; cf. Virg. 11, 19 (Coning.).

equus: according to Coel. Ant.
fr. 20 (Peter H. R. R. 151), from
whom Liv. derives §§ 11—14 (be-
fore and after which he trans-
lates Polyb.), this sinister omen
occurred on the march from
Rome to Arretium, in front of
the statue of Iuppiter Stator.
Iul. Obseq. relates a similar ill
omen in the case of the consul
Pansa, *equus festinans concidit*.
For this and other prodigies cf.
Coel. l. c.; Sil. It. 5, 59, &c.

super caput, &c. 'threw him
over his head': for *effundo* =
ἐκτραχῆλίζω, cf. 27, 19, f.: so 8,
7, m. *excussit equitem*: *caput*
here refers to the horse, as in
27, 32, 5, which Plut. Fab. 3
wrongly renders *κατενέχθεις ἐπὶ
κεφαλῇ*.

12. *rei* = gen. Cf. 21, 29, 4.
moliente, cf. Sil. It. 5, 66 *signa
etiam affusa certant dum vellere
mole*: he adds that while the
standard-bearer and several
others (cf. Coel. l. c. *plures cum
accederent*) were making the ef-

- 13 fero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu affers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint."
- 14 Incedere inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, quum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

IV. *Battle on the Trasimene Lake (mod. Lago di Perugia), and defeat of the Romans.*

- 1 Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem - Trasumennumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat,

fort, blood sprang out of the ground into their faces.

13. *litteras*: an allusion to the despatches sent to him B.C. 223, cf. 21, 63, 12, though possibly it includes the embassy there mentioned.

vetent late MSS., *vetant* P and most MSS. Heerw. defends the latter as more expressive, and implying that the letter received from the senate, together with its contents, was well known to all.

Abi, nuntia: these words recur 49, 10.

prae is used with a negative expressed (21, 56, 3 and 9) or implied as here and 5, 13, f. &c.: cf. Rob. 2056.

obtorpuerint C, *obtorpuerit* P, preferred by Heerw., but the pl. is supported by Coel., cited sup. 12: Madv. reads *obtorpuerunt*. For the fact cf. Sil. It. 5, 90.

14. *primoribus*, 'the chief officers'.

superquam quod, 'besides that', 'not to speak of', cf. 27, 20, f.; 21, 25, 1; infr. 7, 4: so 38, 38, m. *extra quam si* = Gr. ἐκτὸς ἐλ μῆ.

consilio, i.e. 'the plan' of Flam. to attack the foe.

in vulgus = *vulgo*, 'in general'; cf. infr. 12, 12; 2, 8, in.

quum spem, &c., i.e. as the soldiers felt hopeful of success, without reflecting how far these hopes were justified. Pol. 3, 82 states that the consul had inspired his men with such confidence that the majority of them carried chains to bind their captives, rather than arms.

1. *Cortonam*: this city, which still retains its name, was one of the most important in Etruria, 9, 37, f.: Virg. A. 3, 170 calls it Corythus, connecting its origin with Dardanus.

Trasumennumque: this reading is adopted instead of vulg. *Trasimenum*, as P has *transymennum*, and 23, 2, 3 *trasumennum*, also 30, 30, 12; though this MS. elsewhere has *thrasymeni* and *thrasimeni*; cf. Ritschl Rh. Mus. 22, 603. Quint. 1, 5, 13 says that many writers prefer the form *Tharsomenus* to *Thrasumenus*. There is a like uncertainty in the Greek. Strab. p. 226 has *Τρασυμένη*: Pol. 3, 82 *Τρασυμένη*.

quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi 2 maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad *id ipsum* (de industria) relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto 3

and in some MSS. *Θρασιμένη λίμνη*. The termination *-ennus* resembles the Etruscan gentile termination in *Perpenna*, *Vivenna*, *Porsenna* or *Porsena*, &c. Cf. Momms. 1, 125 (n.); Nieb. 1, 399.

pervastat. Cf. 3, 10; 9, 1.

hosti, for dat. cf. 21, 53, 2 *militibus*: some restrict the reference to Flam.; but cf. Pol. l.c. *ἐκκαλέσασθαι τὸν θυμὸν τῶν ἐπεναντίων*.

2. *pervenerant*, sc. Poeni: we should have expected the sing. on account of foregoing; but cf. 16, 2. On the change of number cf. 24, 22, m. *senatus—convocati*. This figure Enallage is common in Greek also.

nata, 'naturally adapted for', cf. 28, 6; 44, 4; 24, 42, m.; so *πεφυκώς* in Xen. Mem. 4, 1, 2. Nägelsb. 438.

maxime...subit, 'comes up very closely to the foot of' = *ὑποππεῖ* Strab. p. 688; *προσκλύζει* Diod. p. 607: *montes C.* = mod. Monte Gualandro: Hobhouse, Notes on Byron's Ch. Har. 4, 63, has given a vivid description of the scene from personal observation.

Trasumennus: P has *in trhasumennum*, hence as some MSS. have *subeunt Gron. conj. in Trasimenum sidunt*; but cf. Curt. 8, 11, 7 *radices eius (petrae) Indus subit*; L. 21, 7, 10.

Via, &c.: this refers to the narrow defile beginning between Monte Gualandro and Borghetto

at the north-west end of the lake and ending near Passignano in a narrow opening, where the hills slope towards the lake. Between these points lies a plain of about 4 miles by 2. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the precise place where the battle was fought, especially as the account of Pol. 3, 83 is hard to reconcile with Livy and the nature of the ground at present. Cf. Arn. 3, 106; Bunbury ap. Smith's D. G. Hannibal's camp (infr. 3) being pitched near the mod. village of Tuoro, the cavalry concealed on M. Gualandro and the infantry on the hill near Passignano, the battle was evidently fought near the hill occupied by the camp. A stream Sanguineto, named probably from the slaughter, is shown where it raged most fiercely.

deinde, i.e. near Passignano. Pol. 3. 83 states that on each side of this plain (*ἐπιπεδον*) there was a continuous range of lofty hills on the right and left, in front of the Romans a mountain-peak (occupied by the enemy) overhanging the plain, which ran in a semicircle round the lake, between which and the rear of the Romans there was only a narrow passage (*κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς λίμνην, τελέως στενὴν ἀπὸ λειπουσάν παράδον*).

insurgent Madv., *assurgunt* vulg., *ad insurgunt* P. The form adopted implies a steep,

locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

- 4 Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super
5 caput deceptae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod peti-

the vulg. a gradual ascent: cf. Tac. A. 2, 16 *insurgebat silva*.

3. *Ibi*, i.e. on the woody eminence where the village of Tuoro now stands.

in aperto. Hann. showed himself 'on the open ground' to prevent the foe from suspecting the actual ambushade, infra 4. Cf. 21, 32, 7.

ubi=ut ibi, hence subj. *modo=tantum*: the heavy infantry, consisting of Africans and Spaniards, were the flower of Hann.'s army.

Baliares. Cf. 21, 55, 2.

post montes, i.e. behind the hills on the right near Passignano, though Pol. l. c. says *ὀρὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ βορρῶς*.

fauces, &c. 'the mouth of the defile' refers to the entrance at the west point near M. Gualandro. Pol. includes the Gauls with the cavalry.

apte, conveniently', cf. 28, 7.

4. *pridie...postero die*: for the pleonastic expression cf. Suet. Claud. 32 *pridie...in diem posterum*.

inexplorato, 'without reconnoitring'; so 21, 25, 9: cf. Livy's favourite use of the abl. of perf.

part. with sentence for subject, ib. 21, 1; infra 55, 3: similarly in Greek *ἐσαγγελλθέντων* Thuc. 1, 16; Madv. G. S. 181, 4, d.

vixdum s. c. l., 'in the morning twilight', 'towards dawn', a common phrase in Livy; so 28, 14, m. *superatis*. Cf. 12, 35, 1.

pandi, 'to deploy into the plain as it widened', cf. Tac. H. 2, 25: after a pass. we should have expected *coeptum est* as infra 7; 21, 15, 3; but *pandi* here=*se pandere*: cf. use of *desisse* infra 18, 10. Madv. 161.

id hostium, 'that part of the enemy': for gen. after pron. cf. 38, 13; 3, 62, in. *id consilii animique*. Madv. 285, b. The allusion is to *Afris* &c. sup. 3.

ex adverso: for abl. cf. 12, 10.

ab tergo...insidiae=ins. quae ab t. erant=al ab tergo &c. *ὄσσαι ἐνέδραι*. For the brachylogy cf. 8, 1; 21, 8, 5; 21, 62, 5.

deceptae P (so Madv.): *decepere* conj. Lips., sc. *eum*, =*fefellere* (21, 48, 5), *latuere* 'escaped his notice': for this use Fab. compares Hor. S. 1, 3, 39. Müll. and Wölff. accept conj. of Hell and Tittler *haud dispectae*, after Stroth *haud*.

erat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decū- 6 currerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undi- 7 que orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse

detectae (latter having MS. authority). I would suggest as nearer to P *diu celatae*. Those 'in the rear' were the *equites* sup. 3; those 'above his head' = *Baliæres* &c. *ibid*.

5. *Poenus* = Hannibal.

clausum...habuit: this periphrasis, common in Cic., emphasizes the present condition produced by perf. *clausit*: cf. Cic. Verr. 5, 72; infra 23, 2. So the pass. part. is used as oblique predicate after *dare*, cf. L. 8, 6 *stratas dabo*. Cf. *θανυμάρas* *ἐχω* Soph. Phil. 1362.

6. *nebula*: cf. Sil. It. 5, 34 *lacus densam caligine caeca Exhalans nebulam, late corruperat omnem Prospectum*.

campo: for abl. of place without in cf. 43, 10; 59, 15; 21, 8, 7.

quam...densior: for the emphatic collocation cf. 25, 15.

sederat, 'had settled': Priscian says that *sedī* perf. of *sedeo* is used as perf. of *sido*, *sidi* not being in use. Yet Forc. and Rid. and Wh. (who misquote the passage) give it under *sedeo*, while Schell. Weis. Wfl. take it from *sido*; cf. Curt. 5, 13, 12 *donec consideret pulvis. collibus* conj. Lips., *vallibus* P: the objection to the MS. reading is that the Carth. troops had been posted on the hills (cf. sup. 3), to which

the verb *decucurrerant* is more applicable, and moreover if they had been hidden in valleys they could scarcely have been 'mutually visible'. Walk. tries to defend it on the ground that valleys or gorges in the sides of the mountains are meant as in 21, 32, 8; Virg. Ec. 5, 84; but Pol. l. c. supports text *ἐξ ὑπερδῆλτον καταφερομένων*: cf. L. 6, 33, f. *decurrentium ex superiore loco*.

inter se, &c. Cf. 21, 39, 9; *conspecta* = *conspicabilia*, which only occurs in late Lat.; hence Livy frequently uses this part. as a verbal, cf. 30, 29, f. *locus conspectus*: he uses it in different sense infra 40, 4. Cf. *indictus*, *indomitus*, *insuperatus*.

pariter, 'simultaneously', cf. 26, 48, f.

decucurrerant P: *decucurrerunt* vulg. with inf. MSS.

7. *Romanus*, &c. 'It was the shouting on all sides which told the Romans that they were surrounded, before they could clearly see that such was the fact': *prius* belongs to *sensit* not *orto*, with which we may repeat *circumventum esse* (so *fama* is to be repeated 21, 52, 11). Or *satis cerneret* may be taken absolutely = 'they could see distinctly'—cf. Ter. Ad. 3, 3, 85; Plaut. Amph. 5, 1, 7.

sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

V. *The consul's vain exertions. Rout of Romans.*
Earthquake.

- 1 Consul, percussis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re
 trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quo-
 que ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locus-
 que patitur, et quacunque ^{adire} audirique potest,
 2 adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde
 votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute eva-
 dendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et,
 quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse.
 3 Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec

instrueretur: this has the sup-
 port of Pol. who says 3, 84, 4
 that most of the troops were cut
 to pieces while in marching order.

expediri. Cf. 5, 3; 21, 46, 4.
 On the march the shield was
 simply carried suspended to the
 shoulders (27, 28, s. f.), covered
 to protect its ornamental surface
 Caes. G. 2, 21, while the helmets
 were often hung on the back or
 front, *ibid.*

1. *Consul*. Cf. 4, 4.

percussis, 'panic-struck', like
ἐκπεπληγμένους.

satis: this seems cold praise
 for the bravery displayed by
 Flam. in this battle; but Liv. is
 more just towards his soldierly
 qualities 6, 2.

ut in re t., 'so far as was pos-
 sible amid the general alarm':
 for *ut* used as a limitation cf.
 21, 12, 4; *ib.* 34, 1; 10, 43, f.;
 but see 26, 8, 2: for *res trepida*
 or *trepidæ*=*dubiae* cf. Hor. O.
 3, 2, 5.

vertente C, *uertentes* P: in
 the latter case *quoque*=*etiam*;

but it seems better to take it as
 pron., adopting vulg. Cf. 4, 28,
 2 *circumagenti se ad dissonos*
clamores hosti.

patitur...potest: for pres. in
 subordinate proposition cf. 15, 1
scit; 21, 29, 6.

quacunque, sc. *parte*.

adire corr. Gebhard, *adiri* P,
 the error being due to the word
 following.

stare...iubet: Liv. constantly
 omits the subject of infin. after
 latter verb, cf. 51, 7.

2. *nec enim*, introducing a
 speech. Cf. 31, 30, in. *neque id*
 &c.

votis, 'prayers'. Cf. Virg. A.
 3, 261; Plin. Ep. 10, 90; but
 see sup. 1, 6: the same double
 sense is found in *εὐχῇ*.

vi...virtute. Cf. 21, 41, 17.

ferro v. f. Cf. 50, 9; Virg. A.
 2, 494.

periculi: the same thought, as
 Wölf. remarks, occurs in Sall. I.
 87—*fortissimum quemque tutis-*
simum.

3. *consilium*, 'his advice', cor-

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imperium accipi^{to be capable} poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictus-^{manus} 4 que corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haere-^{manus} 5 bant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugien-

responding to *adhortatur*, as *imperium* to *iubet*.

tantumque, &c. 'the soldiers were so far from knowing their standards...that' &c. Cf. *τοὺς οὐτοὺς ἀνέχω, δέω*: *signa* = the ensigns of the several *manipuli* L. 27, 14: *ordines* 'ranks' = *centurias*, two of which formed a *maniple*; L. 3, 44: *infr.* 7: *ordines et* Hertz., *ordinem sed* P. Fab. and Hwg. retain *ordinem* miles of vulg.

noscerent late MSS., *nosceret* vulg. after P.

capienda. Cf. 4, 7.

aptanda. Cf. 19, 10.

competeret animus, 'they had presence of mind'—(cf. 27, 50, *in. compotes mentium*); Tac. A. 3, 46; *ib.* H. 3, 73.

opprimerentur: this may be rendered 'were weighed down', as Cic. Rosc. Am. 4, 10 *opprimi onere*, or 'were surprised' by the enemy, as L. 26, 12 *ut incautos opprresserit*.

quidam = *nonnulli*, an incorrect application common in Livy. Cf. 17, 4 and 7; 51, 6, 7 and 8 &c.

onerati. See 21, 58, 8 for a similar thought.

iis Madv., *his* vulg. after P.

caligine, 'mist', cf. 6, 8; 29, 27, m.

4. *Ad gemitus v.*, 'at the groans of the wounded': *vulnerum* = objective gen., i.e. groans arising from wounds: for *vulnera* = *vulnerati* cf. 21, 29, 3. Rup. strangely explains *gem. vuln.* = the sound of weapons inflicting wounds, comparing Ov. M. 12, 487: for *vulnus* = *telum* he quotes Sil. 1, 397—he might have also cited Virg. 10, 140. He suggests, however, *vulneratorum*, accepted by Madv. Weis. Wfl.: but reading of P is retained by Luterb. Fab. and Hwg. &c.

mixtos strepentium, &c. 'the confused shouts of triumph and alarm', the former referring to the Carthaginians, the latter to the Romans. Heusinger conj. *terrentium*, adopted by Weis. and others: cf. 21, 17, 5; *ib.* 25, 13; 5, 21, 11: for pres. part. = subst. cf. 1, 8, 5. Nägelsb. 102.

ora, 'faces', pleonastic; but for juxtaposition cf. Virg. A. 7, 250 —1: on *circ. oc.* cf. 21, 44, 1. For part. = subst. cf. *infr.* and 1, 8, 5.

5. *fugientes* = *qui fugiebant*, imperf. of attempt; cf. *instruit* sup. 1.

globo 'a knot', 'dense mass': see 10, 29, 2: for dat. after *illati* cf. *infr.* 8; 17, 6; 21, 10, 10.

6 tium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque, nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, 7 non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut 8 manipulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus

6. *impetus capti*, 'charges' 1, 453.

were attempted'. Cf. 8, 30, in.; 3, 5, in.; 5, 38, in.; infr. 6, 4: *nec ut*, i.e. *nec ita ordinata ut*, cf. 43, 4.

so *eruptione* ib. 8.

ab lateribus: the Romans therefore must have turned from Tuoro (4, 4 and 7) and faced about towards Passignano, intending to force their way through the pass; but cf. Pol. 3, 83, 1.

claudebat, 'shut them in', without object, as 21, 43, 4: for imperf. = a continuing state cf. 6, 7; 21, 12, 4.

tum, emphatic, introducing principal proposition, cf. 6, 9; 21, 11, 8.

adhortatorque. Cf. 21, 11, 7.

nova de in.: for pleonasm cf. 21, 11, 5; 37, 19, 5 *instauremus novum de integro bellum*.

7. *non illa*, &c. 'not the well-known order of battle arranged according to' &c.

per principes, &c.: Duker would read *per hast. prin. q.*: though Vegetius Mil. 1, 20 asserts that the *principes* originally occupied the front line, yet from B.C. 340 the *Hastati* formed the van, cf. 8, 8, 3; 30, 8, in.: we must therefore suppose that Livy is here inaccurate or is making a loose enumeration of the constituent parts of the legion. For the manipular legion cf. Momms.

antesignani, 'the vanguard', consisting of the *hastati* and *principes*, who stood in front of the manipular standards, while the *triarii* (here = *alia acies*) were posted behind them, in charge of 'the eagle'. But from L. 8, 11 *caesos hastatos principesque, stragem et ante signa et post signa factam, triarios postremo rem restituisse* it would appear that formerly the *hastati* alone = *antesignani*.

alia = cetera, cf. 21, 27, 6.

cohorte: although it was not till the time of Marius B.C. 105 that the cohort, instead of the manipule, became the tactical unit, yet Liv. 2, 11, s. f. refers to it as existing B.C. 506, and Cincius circ. B.C. 209 states that the legion was divided into 10 cohorts, 30 maniples, and 60 centuries: so Cato (ap. Peter p. 92) circ. B.C. 201 has *unamquamque turmam, manipulum, cohortem temptabam*.

8. *fors*: *sors* was reading before Gron.; but cf. Sall. I. 97, 4.

conglobabat, 'massed them together': vulg. after P reads *conglobat...dat*.

animus, 'impulse', C. and B.:

cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae [animus], ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

VI. *Death of Flaminius and defeat of the Roman army.*

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atro-

or perhaps 'courage,' as in parallel passage from Tac. H. 2, 41 *ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpabant aut relabebantur.*

ante...post, sc. *signa*: for adverbial use cf. 21, 34, 5.

animorum. So all MSS. except one, which has *armorum*, adopted by vulg. since time of Gron. = eagerness for battle, cf. Cic. Marc. 8, 24 *in tanto animorum ardore et armorum*, which equally supports text, for which we may compare L. 44, 36, 3; 4, 47, in.; the chief objection to this is *animus* preceding and following so closely; but Madv. rejects the last, cf. Oros. 4, 15 *cum ita intentus pugnantium ardor exstiterit* (he is referring to the earthquake).

motum terrae (cf. Ital. *terremuoto*, Fr. *tremblement de terre*): Coelius (ap. Peter p. 152) states that there were at this time earthquakes in Liguria, Gaul, many islands, and throughout Italy, destroying many towns and causing a subsidence of the ground in several places. This earthquake is attested by Zon. 8, 25; Plut. Fab. 3; Plin. 2, 200; Flor. 2, 6; Sil. 5, 611: cf. Ov. F. 6, 765.

avertitque cursu, 'diverted from their channels'. Cf. Zon. l. c. ποταμοὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐξόδου ἀποκλεισθέντες ἄλλην ἐτράποντο: Coelius l. c. represents them as flowing backwards *ut flumina in contrarias partes fluxerint*.

rapidos P, vulg. with inferior MSS. *rapido*, which Drak. regards as abl. of quality after *amnes*, cf. 41, 11, in.; L. 5, 47 *saxum aequo ascensu*.

invexit—for dat. instead of in with acc. (1, 48, 5) cf. 23, 47, f. *Tauream portae invectum*; but cf. Coel. l. c. *ut in amnes mare influxerit*.

senserit, cf. 21, 2, 6. Ovid l. c. gives June 23 as date for this battle, i.e. about April 15 of reformed calendar. Peter pp. 226—8 has some excellent remarks on the discrepancies of Polybius and Livy respecting the locality. He says that where Livy deserts Pol. he clearly follows an authority well acquainted with the scene of the conflict, adding that when he himself visited the spot the country people confidently affirmed that the battle was fought on the ground described by Livy.

1. *Tres...horas*—Liv. borrows

citer; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna
 2 est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse,
 quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos,
 impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes
 3 summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec In-
 suber eques (Ducario nomen erat), facie quoque nos-
 citans consulem, "En" inquit "hic est" popularibus
 suis, "qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem
 est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam manibus
 4 peremptorum foede civium dabo." Subditque cal-
 caribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam im-
 petum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se

this from Coelius l. c. *tribus iis horis concisus exercitus.*

est—late MSS. give *erat* which Bauer prefers.

2. *Eum*—though belonging only to first sentence the pron. is placed first for the sake of emphasis: strictly we should have expected *et hostes p.* to correspond to *et robora s.* Cf. 21, 15, 4 *ad quos et...et qui.*

robora virorum, 'the flower of his troops', cf. 21, 54, 3. The first body-guard according to Festus was the *cohors praetoria* of Scipio Africanus. Cf. Sall. C. 60, 5; but cf. L. 2, 20, 5; cf. *satellites* 2, 12, m.

premi, &c. 'hard pressed and distressed', a metaphor from oxen under the yoke. Caes. G. 7, 67 also combines these verbs. Cf. 33, 5 *bellum in cervicibus.*

3. *Insuber*. Flam. had defeated the Insubres B.C. 223.

Ducario dat., sc. *illi*; cf. 1, 34, 4. Ducarius only occurs here and in Sil. 5, 645: Pol. 3, 84 says that F. was slain by certain Gauls.

quoque, i.e. not merely by his armour.

noscitans, Liv. is fond of this

frequentative, cf. 26, 41, f. *noscitatis*; cf. infr. 54, 8; 21, 1, 3.

consulem, *En* (Weiss.): vulg. after Gron. *Consul*, *en*, instead of *consulem* (*inquit*) of MSS. Cf. 9, 34, 1. Join *inquit popularibus*; cf. 1, 32, 11.

legiones. Liv. again applies this Roman term to the Gallic armies 38, 17, m.: cf. infr. 39, 5; 21, 3, 1 *praetorium*. For the subject cf. 3, 4; 21, 63, 2.

urbem. It is not clear what city is meant: Mediolanum (Milan) was the capital of the Insubres; but it was captured by Marcellus and Scipio B.C. 222.

iam ego, &c.: a repetition of 4, 19, 3 *iam ego hanc mactatam victimam legatorum manibus dabo.*

hanc v. = *hunc pro victima*, cf. 21, 10, 12.

civium, 'my countrymen', but with reference to *urbem*: *civis* usually = a Roman; but cf. Ter. And. 1, 3, 16.

4. *armigero*. Greek and Roman generals from the earliest times employed officers to carry their shield, helmet, or spear. Thus Patroclus was armour-bearer to Achilles, Achates to Aeneas. So

infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiecit^{hann} scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; 5 et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arcta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur. Pars 6 magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere, quos incon-

Onesilus of Salamis had his bk. 8.
ὑπασπιστάς Herod. 5, 111. We may compare in mediaeval history the squire or esquire (= *cucuyer*, fr. *écu* = *scutum*) attendant on the knight.

infesto, 'lance in rest': note adj. for adv.; cf. 7, 13 *maestam sedentem*; 21, 55, 3. This construction is more frequent in poetry, cf. Hor. S. 1, 6, 128 *domesticus otior*; ib. O. 1, 19, 16. Nägelsb. 260.

obviam ob.: for repetition cf. *infr. 7 retro repetebant*.

lancea (conn. with λόγχη or Germ. *lang*): this weapon, common to Gauls (10, 26, 11) and Germans, was not used by Romans till much later. Cf. Tac. H. 1, 79.

triarii = *robora v.* § 2. The *Triarii*, originally called *Pilani*, derived their name from standing in the third line, the *Hastati* and *Principes* standing before them (cf. 5, 7), though Niebuhr maintains that they were so called as being a picked corps from each of the three heavy-armed classes. For the three distinct legionary systems: (1) phalangetic under Serv. Tullius, (2) manipular—Latin War, (3) cohort-arrangement under Marius, cf. Momms. 1, 98; ib. 453; 3, 202: also Livy's important chap. 8,

arcuere, 'hindered him', 'kept him off'; but cf. 23, 45, 8 where Hann. says that a soldier of his had dragged Flam. off his horse and cut off his head.

5. *Magnae partis op. sex milia* *infr. 8.*

omnia = 'nothing but'; cf. 39, 13; 21, 32, 9; ib. 35, 7.

evadunt, 'they try to escape'; cf. *infr. 8*; 49, 9. Cf. use of *πειθω* Soph. O. C. 1442. Endeavour, or attempt, is more usually expressed by *imperf.*; cf. 21, 52, 2.

alium alii P. H. Müll. reads for first *alios*: Riemann for second *alius*, either of which is more grammatical. Cf. 7, 8; 21, 35, 12.

praecipitantur. Cf. 21, 25, 9.

6. *Pars...progressi*, cf. 21, 27, 9.

prima, 'at the edge of the lake', predicative: cf. 21, 5, 9 *prima quies*.

quoad, &c. 'so far as to be able to keep head and shoulders above water'; cf. 2, 25, m.

umerisque Weiss, P *umeribus*, C *umeris*, vulg. and Madv. with late MSS. *humerisque*. For spelling cf. Munro Lucr. 35; 1, 307: Peile Et. 324.

sese immergunt, 'plunge in': C. and B. translate 'drowned them-

- sultus pavor ^{animi} hando etiam capessere fugam impulerit;
 7 quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficiētibz animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. ^{gallant} Sex milia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione ^{galant} impigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum in tur-ning 10-1 mulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, ne-
 9 que scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes

selves'; but Pol. 3, 84 says τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕψος ὑπερ-
 λοχον.

fuere, quos...impulerit: after *sunt qui* = *est* Liv. uses subj., not indic., which is rare in classical prose; but cf. Sall. C. 19.

capessere: we should have expected *ut capesseret*, but Liv. is fond of such poetical constructions, cf. 21, 39, 10; ib. 41, 9. For *capessere fugam* cf. 1, 25, 7.

7. *quae ubi*, &c. 'but when this (flight) seemed endless and hopeless'; the lake being 10 miles long and 8 broad they could not see the other side. The two islands are apparently unknown to Livy.

animis, 'courage', cf. 26, 1. Luterb. is wrong in taking it = *anima*, 'breath'; cf. 21, 58, 4.

gurgitibus: see 21, 5, 14.

aut Gron., *haur* P.

retro rep.: for pleonasm cf. sup. 4; 25, 27, f.

trucidabantur. Pol. 1. c. adds τινὲς δὲ παρακάλεσαν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρσαν.

8. *Sex milia*, cf. 21, 56, 2: for *ignari* after *milia* cf. ib. 21, 13 *eosdem*.

eruptione—so 21, 56, 4.

ex saltu, i.e. the defile near Passignano, where the Balaric slingers &c. offered less resistance: cf. 4, 3. Pol. 3, 84 says that in the defile, κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα, 15000 Romans fell; cf. 7, 2.

perspicere, 'to see clearly', or 'to see through', as 41, 22, in. *ut prae densitate arborum...perspici caelum vix posset*: one MS. gives *prospicere* = to see from a distance or from higher ground, cf. 21, 35, 8, adopted by Drak.: *conspicere* = to see from close observation: for distinction cf. 10, 32, 6; but cf. *infr.* 10.

9. *Inclinata* (sc. *in fugam*, cf. 7, 33, s. f.) *re*, 'when the battle was over', or 'decided': the metaphor may be taken from the turning of the scales, like *momentum facere* 25, 18, in.

denique J. Gron., *adinique* P. *incalescente*, &c. 'the mist dispelled by the increasing heat of the sun had cleared the sky'; so 26, 17, 14 *dispulsa sole nebula aperuit diem*; for *aperio* cf. 19, 7.

tum late MSS., *cum* P. *liquida*. Cf. *certa* 4, 4.

campique perditas res stratumque ostendere foede
 Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul 10
 immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam
 citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abriperunt. Pos- 11
 tero die, quum super cetera extrema fames etiam
 instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus
 equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tra-
 didissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis ~~passurum~~, 12
 sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides
 ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecit.

VII. *Number of the slain. Excitement at Rome.*

Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque 1
 inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quin- 2

perditas, &c. 'showed that all was lost and the R. army shamefully overthrown': *ostendere* = perf. cf. 21, 25, 13: for verb cf. ib. 27, 4.

10. *in conspectos*, hypothetical = *in se, si conspecti essent*.

eques, sc. *Poenorum*.

raptim old edd., *partim* P. Pol.

1. c. states that this body of 6000 marched from the field of battle to a certain Etrurian village, where they were surrounded by Maharbal, to whom they then surrendered.

11. *super cetera* = *praeter c.*; cf. 21, 31, 12; ib. 46, 1: so *super* = *praeter* sup. 3, 14. Bauer not so well joins *cet. extrema* (Gr. *ἔσχατα*), as we find *extrema fames* in Caes. G. 7, 17; but cf. Nägelsb. 84.

equestribus. Pol. 3, 84 says *μετὰ τῶν Ἰσθίων καὶ λογχοφόρων*.

12. *cum sing. vest.* Cf. 52, 3; 21, 12, 5.

Punica r. Cf. 21, 4, 9. C. and B. through an oversight make Hann. pursue and give the pledge. Hannibal's reason for

annulling the action of his officer was *ὅτι Μαάβας οὐκ εἶν κύριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης διδοὺς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ὑποσπόνδοις*, reminding us of the conduct of Rome with regard to the Consuls of B.C. 321 (9, 8, m.), and with reference to the treaty of Catulus B.C. 241. Pol. 1, 63.

omnes. Not strictly correct; cf. 7, 5.

coniecit P, Madv. &c. read with old edd. *conieci*; but there is not sufficient ground to depart from the MSS., as the change from pass. to act. is quite in Livy's manner. Cf. 21, 38, 6; ib. 45, 2.

1. *pugna*. The battle was fought in April (not June 23. Ov. F. 6, 765), as shown by dictatorship of Fabius 8, 6; 31, 7; 32, 1.

inter paucas, &c. 'a disaster to the Roman people memorable as few others have been': Liv. is the first who uses *inter paucas* = *in primis*; cf. 38, 15, f. *inter paucas munitae urbis*: for *memorata* = *memorabilis* Fab. compares 42, 9; 23, 44, m. *memorabilis*

- decim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per ompem Etruriam diversis itineribus
 3 urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrinque ex vulneribus periire. *Multiplex* caedes utrinque facta traditur ab aliis; ego
 4 praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium,

inter paucas fuisset (pugna). Cf. Herod. 4, 52 μέγας ἐν ὅλοις: *clades* = nom. See sup. 4, 6 *conspecta*. Weis. compares *contemptus* 2, 55, 3; Nägelsb. 72, 1. In like manner we find *despectus, invictus, immotus* &c.

2. *Quindecim*. So Pol. 3, 84, who estimates the prisoners at the same number (op. Livy's 6000, 6, 11), which with the 10000 who escaped represents the army of Flam. as = 40000. App. Hann. 10 states that 20000 fell in this engagement. Cf. 8, 1.

decem m. Cf. the similar occurrence at the Trebia 21, 56, 2.

diversis late MSS., *aduersis* P, C, M. Gron. and Drak. prefer *aversis* (of two late MSS.) = *avis*, *deviis*, 'remote', a meaning of the word which is unsupported: for text cf. 23, 26, 8.

3. *duo milia* P, vulg. *mille*, agreeing with Pol. 3, 85, who adds that most of these were Gauls.

utrinque. Perizon., followed by Madv. &c., strikes out this word; but as it has MS. authority and is quite defensible, notwithstanding its repetition, I have thought it better to retain it: *ex vulneribus* is here distinctly opposed to *in acie*: for *ex* cf. 2, 10.

Multiplex, 'many times greater', cf. 54, 9; 2, 64, in. *multipliciter praeda*; 4, 60, in.: so Herod. 3, 135, 3 ἄλλα πολλαπλήσια.

ab aliis: the allusion is pro-

bably to Val. Antias, cf. 30, 19, f. 4. *auctum ex vano*, 'idly exaggerated'; so Walsh for *haustum* c. v. 'derived from a worthless source' (vulg.): P *austum*. Fab. and Luterb. prefer vulg. Cf. 21, 32, 7 *ex propinquo*; 27, 26, 1; for *scribentium* = *scriptorum* cf. 21, 57, 14 with ib. 1, 1.

Fabium, &c. 'I have taken as my chief authority F. who was a contemporary of this war'. Q. Fabius Pictor (so called from his grandfather who painted the temple of Salus B.C. 302) was "the most ancient writer" of Roman history in prose, cf. 1, 44, 2; 2, 40, 10; Dion. 7, 71 παλαιότατος τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συγγραμμένων. The dates of his birth and death are uncertain; but as he served in the Gallic War B.C. 225 and wrote a history of the 2nd Punic War (Pol. 1, 14, 1), he was probably born circ. B.C. 254 and survived B.C. 202, for, as Peter R. R. LXXI (who has collected the fragments, pp. 5—39) observes, *quem virum Romanum inter arma in ipsa Italia strepentia otiosum historiae scribendae operam dedisse arbitratur?* Fabius' history, written in Greek, extended from the foundation of Rome to his own times; cf. Browne, Rom. Lit. 154. Livy repeatedly cites his authority; cf. 1, 55, 8; 8, 30, m.; 10, 37, f. His name is last mentioned 23, 11, 1 as returning

aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal, captivorum qui Latini 5 nominis essent, sine praetio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum in 6 genti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens 7 clades allata, quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percontantur; et quum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vo-

from an embassy to Delphi B.C. 216. Cf. *infr.* 57, 5. On the importance Liv. attached to contemporaneous evidence cf. 8, 40, 5.

5. *captivorum* = *iis* c., cf. *ipsorum* quos 21, 26, 7.

Latini n. Cf. 21, 55, 4.

essent, subj. of repetition, as 28, 1; cf. 21, 4, 4.

praetio, 'ransom': for Hannibal's conciliatory efforts towards the allies cf. 13, 2; 58, 2. Pol. 3, 85 adds that he assured the Italian allies that he had invaded Italy to help them to cast off the yoke of Rome. At the same time he released 600 Cretan auxiliaries sent by Hiero (cf. 21, 49, 3), 24, 30, f. Hann. pursued a similar policy at the Trebia, Pol. 3, 77, 7.

Flamini. This was the older form in nouns in *-ius* and *-ium*; so Appi, Capitoli (Virg. 9, 449). Pol. merely asserts that Hann. buried only about 30 of the most distinguished persons (τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους).

quoque refers to *inquisitum* = *inquisivit*, *sed n. i.* For the loose construction cf. 17, 6 *neutros*. Hannibal acted with similar hu-

manity towards L. Aemilius (52, 6) and Marcellus (27, 28, 1).

6. *ad p. nuntium*, cf. 21, 41, 3.

7. *quae repens*, &c. 'what was the disaster that had been recently reported?' *repens* is adj. = *repentina*; cf. 8, 1; 21, 6; 21, 26, 1; 1, 14, 5 *repens inlatus*.

esset: for imperf. subj. after pres. indic. cf. *infr.* 14.

et quum, &c. 'when the crowd like a full assembly turned to the *comitium* and senate-house': *modo* implies that it was not convoked by a Consul, Praetor, Dictator &c.; though Plut. Fab. 3 calls it an *ἐκκλησία* assembled by Pomponius the Praetor (στρατηγός).

comitium. Cf. 60, 1; 1, 36, 5. The *comitium* derived its name from its being the meeting-place (*coeo*) of the *Comitia Curiata*, and occupied the north-west end of the Forum, near the Capitol, close to the *Curia Hostilia*. Cf. Kiepert's *Forum Romanum*. Livy here distinguishes the *comitium* from the *forum* as being the more honourable position occupied by the magistrates.

curiam. The magistrates were

- 8 caret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus." Et ^{quoniam} quoniam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen
- 9 alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt, consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga ⁱⁿ passim per Etruriam sparsos aut
- 10 captos ab ⁱⁿ hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut
- 11 timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opper- wintziens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque

here assembled, cf. infr. 14; 1, 45; 55, 1. The people called them out to dispel their uncertainty as to the late events.

8. M. Pomponius Matho was consul B.C. 231, praetor *peregrinus* B.C. 217: at the time of his death B.C. 204 he was augur and decemvir (29, 38, f.). He is to be distinguished from his brother M'. Pomp. M. infr. 33, 11. Another member of this plebeian gens is mentioned 21, 51, 6. Weiss. draws attention to the fact that the praetor *urbanus* (M. Aemilius 9, 11) though no doubt present (infr. 14) did not address the people; but cf. 23, 24, 1. The two other praetors for this year were Otacilius (31, 6), who received Sicily, and Corn. Mamula (33, 44, in.), who received Sardinia.

Pugna, &c. The words uttered by Pomp. from the rostra are more forcibly given by Plut. l. c. *πεικλήμεθα μεγάλη μάχη και διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον και Φλαμίνιος ὑπατος ἀπόλωλεν*.

alius, &c. 'full of the reports which they had received from one another'.

referunt. Cf. 7, 32, 1.

10. *Quot*, &c. 'The anxieties which distracted the minds of those whose relatives had served under the consul C. F., were not less numerous than the disasters of the vanquished army', referring to foregoing, as also the different forms of death 6, 7.

distracti Weiss., *dispraeti* P., *dispertiti* vulg. Cf. Cic. Acad. 2, 43, f.

meruerant. Cf. 21, 4, 10.

cuiusque suorum: in prose *suus* and *se* regularly precede *quisque*; but cf. 48, 2.

11. *Postero*, sc. *die* from following: *deinceps*, &c. 'on several successive days'; for this attributive use of adv. cf. 21, 8, 5; ib. 52, 5; 1, 21, 5; 3, 39, 4: so τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον Plat. Pol. 271A. Cf. Nägelsb. 232. In such Latin phrases the want of the article is most felt.

circumfundebanturque, 'pressed round', cf. infr. 12.

avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusus. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

VIII. *Hannibal's further success against Centenius. The people at Rome in alarm elect Q. Fabius Maximus dictator.*

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia

obvitiis. For Livy's frequent use of this adj. = subst. cf. sup. 7; 55, 4; 21, 46, 2.

utique = *potissimum*, 'especially from their acquaintances', cf. 23, 3.

ordine, 'from first to last', frequently in connection with *omnia* or *cuncta*, cf. 22, 18; 3, 50, in.

inquisissent, subj. because = intention of women, cf. 31, 2; or = subj. of repetition, cf. 2, 7: see 8, 1.

12. *digredientium.* Bauer needlessly reads *de-*, cf. 21, 36, 4.

cerneret, 'you (= 'one' Madv. 370) might have seen' = Potential subj.: for this common use of imperf. subj. cf. 46, 4; 21, 4, 3.

gaudia, 'expressions of joy'; cf. 21, 30, 4.

13. *porta*, i.e. of the city; cf. sup. 11.

complexu Alsch., *conspectu* P:

hence all MSS. *conspectu* (so vulg.): but cf. Val. Max. 9, 12, 2 *nunciata enim clade, quae ad lacum Trasumennum inciderat, altera mater sospiti filio ad ipsam portam facta obviam in complexu eius exspiravit.* Plin. N. H. 7, 53, 180 says this incident happened after battle of Cannae.

maestam: for adj. = adv. cf. 21, 55, 3.

14. *praetores*, i.e. Pomponius (sup. 8), Aemilius (33, 8), Otacilius (10, 10), and perhaps Mamula; cf. 10, 2.

orto, sc. *sole*; cf. 21, 19, 9: after sunset no discussion could take place.

1. *repens* (secondary predicate, Rob. 1069); cf. 7, 7; 1, 14, 5; infr. 12, 7: this is common with *sublimis*, *frequens*, *diversus* &c. See Nägelsb. L. S. 262. This news arrived three days after the battle. Pol. 3, 86.

nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circum-
 2 venta. Eius rei fama varie homines affecit. Pars, occupatis maiore aegritudine animis, levem ex com-
 3 paratione priorum ducere recentem equitum iactu-
 ram; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis

quattuor m. App. H. 9 says 8000; but this rather refers to Liv. 25, 19. Pol. l. c. says that one half of these were slain, the rest taken prisoners. The cavalry as here given seems disproportionate for a consular army of two legions, but was doubtless raised as an extraordinary levy to meet the emergency; cf. 21, 47, 1. Sempronius had the same number, ib. 55, 6.

cum C. Cent., 'under the command of C. Centenius', cf. 21, 47, 6. He was not one of the Praetors of B.C. 218 (cf. 25, 18; 33, 7; 21, 49, 6; ib. 62, 10), but probably one of Servilius' legates, who received the title of Propraetor on obtaining his command. Nep. Hann. 4 calls him Praetor (but cf. 7, 14); so Zon. 8, 24 *στρατηγός*: App. l. c. calls him *ιδιώτης*, and confounds him with M. Cent. Penula. In like manner L. Scipio is styled Propraetor (L. 10, 25, m.), though he had not previously held the Praetorship: Flaminius (29, 6, m.) was probably another instance.

in Umbria, join with *circumventa*. Servilius, on learning the danger of Flaminius, sent the cavalry to his assistance, intending to join him himself (as appears from 9, 6; cf. 6, 8), march-

ing by the Flaminian Way, 11, 5, from which near Fulginium a road passed through Perusia to Arretium. Cf. 4, 4. It is not actually stated that Servilius had left Rome (2, 1) to proceed to Ariminum (21, 63, 15), as asserted by Pol. 3, 77, 2, and App. H. 8, though it is here implied.

post...auditam. Cf. 21, 49, 3. *ad Trasumenum*. Cf. 21, 57, 11. *avertent iter*, 'they had turned aside'; cf. 9, 3; 21, 23, 4. *Hannibale*. Pol. 3, 86, 4 attributes this to Maharbal (cf. 6, 11).

circumventa; cf. 21, 36, 1. App. H. 9 relates that Centenius was sent from Rome with 8000 men to occupy a pass in Umbria (Nep. H. 4 *saltus occupantem*) near the λίμνη Πλειστινῆ. Cf. Zon. 8, 25. This Umbrian lake no longer exists, though traces of the name have been found.

2. *affecit*. Cf. infr. 3; 21, 11, 13; see ib. 39, 2.

ducere=infinitus historicus, representing imperf. indic., frequent in Liv.; cf. 29, 5; 21, 4, 2: Madv. 392.

3. *sed*, so. *existimare* or *dicere* from preceding (as 21, 16, 3; ib. 35, 9), hence *sentiretur* and *aestimandum esse*.

in affecto, &c. Fabius makes use of a similar reflection in Dio

quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegræ et 4
affectae civitati quodcunque adversi inciderit, non
rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil,
quod aggravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse.
Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum 5
nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas con-

Cass. 57, 10 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκεραίοις
πράγμασι καὶ τὰ δεινότετα ῥᾶδιως
πολλάκις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑφίστασ-
θαι, τοὺς δὲ προκεκμηκότας καὶ τὰ
βραχύτατα κακοῦν ἔλεγεν.

quamvis (=quantumvis) l.,
'however insignificant', cf. 50,
9; 21, 36, 4; 1, 4, 4: Rob. 1627.

causa = morbus, cf. 30, 44, m.;
Cic. Har. Resp. 18, 39 corpus te-
nuissima de causa conficitur;
Tibull. 1, 8, 51 (Dissen): Stroth
compares Gk. πελοστασις.

in valido, so Drak., ualitudo P.
Fab. defends vulg. (which omits
prep.) by 4, 58, p. in., cf. 21, 28, 8;
but the prep. is more usually re-
peated after quam, cf. 15, 1; 21,
5, 3.

4. tum, 'now', often used =
nunc in oratio obl., cf. 21, 22, 4;
ib. 35, 9; but, on the other hand,
infr. 38, 9.

inciderit P. Madv. with In-
gerslev reads *incideret*: the perf.
subj. here implies an actual result,
and *aestimandum esse* here = his-
torical present, cf. Heerwagen.

extenuatis, cf. 21, 62, 5; for
part. cf. 34, 2; 21, 16, 2. Simi-
larly *attenuari vires* 25, 11, 3.

aggravaret, 'pressed heavily
upon it', or 'increased its bur-
den'. Cf. 4, 12, in.

5. nec adhibitum. No dictator
for actual service, i.e. *rei gerundae*
or *interregni causa*, had been ap-
pointed since A. Atilius Calatinus
B.C. 249 (the first dictator who
commanded an army beyond
Italy, Epit. 19, in.). Several

however had been selected for
various ceremonies, or to hold
the elections, i.e. *comitiorum ha-
bendorum causa*, like Fabius him-
self, cf. 9, 7; 33, 11. Becker
Röm. Alterth. 178 observes that,
with one exception, the Dictator
was only appointed when the
Romans had to carry on war in
Italy itself—this restriction being
adopted, lest the great power,
which was conferred, might be
abused, when its holder might be
far from Roman restraint. M.
Junius Pera, 57, 9, was the last
on whom the same power was
conferred.

dictatorem dicendum: note
omission of *ad*, like 21, 4, 3; 1,
56, 2: Nägelsb. L. S. 115. The
title *dictator* ('commander') was
borrowed from Latium, the old
Roman name being *magister po-
puli* or *praetor maximus*. As the
representative of the kings he was
assigned a *magister equitum*, but
unlike the regal authority his was
limited to six months, 3, 29, f.,
and he could not nominate his
successor. On his absolute power,
from which was no appeal, cf. 2,
18, m. (where the first dictator
T. Lartius B.C. 501 is mentioned);
8, 34, 2. The nomination of a
dictator was regularly made by a
consul (4, 31, 4), when authorized
by a *senatus consultum*, having
taken the auspices after midnight
and before sunrise, 8, 23, f. (The
technical term for 'to nominate'
a dictator = *dicere*, sometimes

fugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem

creare, or facere.) If the due rites were not observed, the dictator had to resign, cf. 84, 10. He could not be nominated outside the *Ager Romanus*, i.e. Italy, 27, 5, m. We may infer that the dictator was unfettered by the tribunician *intercessio*, though the tribunes still held office, while even the consuls had to submit to his orders, 11, 5—6; 31, 7. After the battle of Cannae we find two dictators existing together, 23, 22, 11. After the second Punic War the dictatorship ceased, till revived in the persons of Sulla and Caesar. It was abolished by Antonius, Epit. 119, f.; Cic. Phil. 1, 1, f. Cf. Momms. 1, 262, 352 (n.). Ihne, Early Rome 102, thinks that as the dictators, under the name of masters of the people or chief praetors, existed in regal Rome, they were the officers commanding the army under the sacerdotal kings.

Italiam, i.e. between Rome and Ariminum, from which Servilius was advancing.

litteras, sc. *ad consulem*.

nec dictatorem populus (P²) (populo P¹) creare poterat. I have retained the vulg. after P (with Fab. and Hwg.), though with hesitation. Harant keeps the MS. reading without alteration, translating 'and as consequently the consul could not name a dictator to the people'. Th. Momms. C. I. L. 288 (so Müller) strikes

out the passage as a gloss. Madv. Emend. Liv. 238 boldly inserts (after *populo*) *non consulto senatus*. Weiss. Wfl. Luterb. adopt *praetor* for *populo*. In the MSS. there is often a confusion between *p. r.* = *pop. Rom.* and *pr.* = *praetor*. Though we find the praetor acting as the consul's representative (9, 11; 33, 9), yet we do not find him nominating a dictator, until this was done in the case of Caesar, which Cic. Att. 9, 15, 2 calls illegal. Plut. Marc. 24, 9 indeed says τῶν ὑπάρχων τις ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν λέγει δικτάτορα: but probably in this case the praetor was merely the instrument of the people, and not independent, like the consul. An exceptional election occurs 4, 31, m.

6. *eam*: late MS. *eum*: *dies* fem. sing. properly = an appointed day (33, 9), but sometimes without such restriction. Cf. 22, 11.

dictatorem: vulg. *prodictatorem* — cf. 31, 10. This word, not elsewhere found, is formed on the analogy of *proconsul* and *propraetor* (sup. 1), though we should rather read *prodictatore*, cf. C. Prov. 7, 17. The chief objections to this are (1) that Fabius is called dictator up to 31, 10: cf. 9, 7; so Pol. 3, 87; Corp. I. L. 1, 288, 435; and Fasti Consulares: (2) that Minucius is not called *promagister equitum* (he held equal rank, cf. 25, 10). If *praetor* be read, *quod...erat* will refer to what follows.

populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponderent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penetibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

populus, i.e. the *Comitia centuriata*, under presidency of the *praetor urbanus* probably, cf. 27, 5, 16.

Q. Fab. Max. He had three *agnomina*, i.e. *Verrucosus*, from a wart (*verruca*) on the upper lip; *Ovicula*, 'the Lamb', from his temper (Aur. Vict. De Vir. Ill.); and *Cunctator*, 'the Lingerer', from his cautious military operations. Liv. 9, 46, f. says that the great-grandfather of the dictator earned the *cognomen Maximum* from his political services; but Pol. 3, 87 and Virg. A. 6, 846 give it to the hero of this war, and Liv. 30, 26, m. is doubtful. In this chap. Liv. refers to the words of Ennius An. 9, 8 *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (cf. Thackeray Anth. Lat. 14). Cf. Cic. Off. 1, 24, f.; ib. Rep. 1, 1 *bellum Punicum secundum eneravit*. Liv. 21, 18, 3; infr. chaps. 9—12, 14—18, 23—26, 28—31, 39, 55; Sil. 7, 1 and *passim*; Sall. J. 4, 5; Eutrop. 3, 9. Fabius was consul B.C. 235, with M'. Pomponius Matho, censor B.C. 230, consul again B.C. 228, when he concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, and also in B.C. 215, 214, 209. He died before the end of the war B.C. 203.

M. Minucium. The dictator represented the aristocracy, the master of the horse the popular party. The latter was consul B.C. 221. Cf. infr. 12—30, 49.

The *magister equitum* was regularly chosen by the dictator (27, 5, f.), though occasionally by the Senate, 57, 9, and had to resign along with his superior officer, on both of whom the *imperium* was conferred by a *lex curiata*. The title was derived from the fact that he was supposed to command the cavalry, while the dictator led the legionary infantry, like the *magister equitum* (not the *tribunus celerum*) under the kings. Cf. Momms. 1, 78 (n.), 79. In the absence of the dictator he acted as his substitute, but was subject to his authority, to which we find the exception 25, 10.

7. *muros*. The Romans expected Hann. to attack the city; but his object was first of all to win over their allies, cf. 7, 5; hence his march to Apulia, which the Romans attributed to divine interposition, App. H. 12.

fluminum, i.e. Tiber, Anio, Liris, &c.

pro urbe ac penetibus, conj. Alsch., *ac paenatibus p. u.* P, and three best MSS. Gron. *ad penates p. u.* (so vulg.). Cf. 28, 18, in. *sub uno tecto... atque ad eosdem penates*; 21, 46, 6; for text cf. 3, 10. Sigon. accepts *ac cum Poenis p. u.* of old edd.

dimicandum esse, sc. *senatores dicebant* from *negotium... datum*. *quando* = *quandoquidem*.

IX. *Hannibal attacks Spoletum, but is repulsed. He advances to Apulia. Fabius persuades the Senate to have the Sibylline books consulted.*

- 1 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad
2 Spoletium venit. Inde, quum perpopulato agro urbem
oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum
repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis
3 prospere tentatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae
urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non
copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed
refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes
4 rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, re-

1. *recto itinere*, i.e. towards Rome, past Perugia, along the Flaminian Way.

Spoletium P and two of best MSS., *Spoletum* vulg. (mod. Spoletum). A Roman colony was planted here B.C. 240. Epit. 20, in. Cf. 24, 10, s. f.: 45, 43, f. The *Porta d' Annibale* is still shown, where H. was repulsed. It was famous for its golden-coloured wine. Mart. 13, 120; Athen. 1, 48, 27.

2. *perpopulato*: cf. 3, 10 (so *percurare* 21, 57, 9, *perportare*, *perpacare*). Cic. Phil. 5, 9, 25 states that Hann. refrained from devastation and slaughter out of a regard for his own interests. *oppugnare*. Cf. 3, 7; 21, 17, 9; ib. 57, 9.

adortus: a late MS. has *adorus* from *adordior*.

unius op. the other towns which had surrendered. Zon. 8, 25.

nimis late MSS., P and C *minue*, M *minus*: the latter unsatisfactory reading is adopted by Luterb. who compares 52, 4 and 26, 4: Pauly prefers *satis*,

cf. 1, 32, 2: Madv. with his usual daring reads *maximae minime*.

moles, 'size and power of resistance'. Cf. 1, 9, 5; 21, 22, 9; Virg. A. 1, 33.

Romanae u. Cf. 32, 5; 21, 35, 9.

3. *Picenum*, usually subst. Cf. 21, 62, 5; but cf. 23, 14, 3.

avertit i., with reference to *recto* sup. 1; cf. 8, 1; 21, 23, 4. *non ... solum, sed (etiam)*. Cf. 20, 7; 21, 43, 15.

omnis g. depends on *frugum*, cf. 21, 12, 8.

effuse, 'eagerly', 'without restraint' (= *effrenate*), to be joined with verb; cf. 34, 16, m. *effusus praedati sunt*.

avidi...egentes, sc. *Poeni*, understood from *Hannibal* sup. 1. Walk. here makes a strange mistake, thinking that there is a contradiction in saying that the country abounded in produce, while the *inhabitants* were in want!

4. *stativa*. Cf. 1, 57, 4. Liv. omits to mention that Hann. now supplied his African

fectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili affectus. Ubi satis quieti datum praeda ac 5 populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat cir-

troops with the arms taken from the Romans in battle. Cf. 46, 4; Pol. 3, 87.

refectusque, sc. est.

hibernis i., alluding to 1, 1; and 21, 57, 5—9; ib. 58, 2—9.

palustri v., referring to 2, 2—11.

ad eventum s., 'favourable in its result' = *si ad eventum spectatur*; for this use of *ad* cf. 2, 4; 21, 25, 6; 9, 16, m. *invicti ad laborem*; 26, 16, m.; Nägelsb. 398.

levi aut facili, 'with slight loss or easily won'; for the adjs. cf. 5, 22, 6.

affectus, 'exhausted'; cf. 8, 3; 21, 11, 13.

5. *quieti* P, *quietis* Gron. Most of the modern editors adopt the latter as simpler; but the text is supported by 27, 45, f. *quod satis ad desiderium...esset quieti dare*. We may render 'when sufficient time had been given to repose for soldiers who delighted in plunder' &c.

praeda = *praedatio* (for combination cf. 1, 2). Cf. active use of *error* 1, 3; *terror* 21, 63, 14; Nägelsb. 167.

gaudentibus = dat. (for this participial construction with suppressed subject cf. 21, 43, 4); Stroth regards it as abl. abs.; Drak. joins it with *profectus* (*cum* being omitted), as 21, 26, 3; ib. 48, 4.

Praetutianum. The Praetutii were a tribe situated in the south of Picenum, cf. L. 27, 43. In

the 7th cent. the name was abbreviated into Prutium, or Aprutium, whence mod. Abruzzo, Kiepert Lehrbuch d. a. Geog. 413; Blondi Flavii Ital. III. 394. The capital was *Interamnium* (mod. Teramo). The district was famous for its vines, cf. Sil. 15, 571.

Hadrianum. Hadria, or Hatria (Kiepert.) (some MSS. omit the H), a town in Picenum, on site of mod. Atri, a few miles from the Adriatic, where the Romans founded a colony B.C. 289. Liv. Epit. 11. Cf. L. 27, 10. The *H. ager* of which Liv. here speaks lay between the rivers Vomanus and Matrinus. Sil. 8, 440. Hadrian was sprung from a family belonging to this city. Meriv. R. 8, 180. The best MSS. omit *que*, which vulg. with late MSS. appends to *Hadrianum*, cf. 21, 8, 6.

Marsos, &c. Note names of tribes substituted for non-existing names of territories, cf. 21, 5, 5; ib. 31, 9. Livy clearly gives the wrong order, as south of Hadria were the Marrucini, west of them the Peligni (18, 6); and further inland the Marsi: Pol. 3, 88, 3 more accurately states that H. advanced from Hadria to the Marrucini, and then to the Frentani, intervening between the former and Apulia. For these Sabellian tribes cf. Momms. 1, 123: they were conquered by Rome B.C. 304. L. 9,

6 caque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

7 Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, quum edocuisset patres, plus neglegentia caerimoniarum

45, f. For the Marsic War of b.c. 90, cf. Hor. O. 3, 14, 18.

Arpos. Arpi was a city in the north of Apulia, now represented by ruins at Arpa near Foggia. It was originally called Argyrippa, a contraction for Argos Hippium, which its founder Diomede is said to have called it; though Tzetzes on Lycophr. 592 makes the latter a Greek interpretation of the former, τὴν Ἀργυρίππων πόλιν μεθερμηνευμένην Ἀργος Ἰππειον. Cf. infr. 12, 3; 9, 13, 6; Virg. A. 11, 246. Cic. Att. 9, 3 mentions it for the last time.

Luceriam. Luceria (mod. Lucera), a city of Apulia west of Arpi, and like it said to have been founded by Diomede. It was famous for the sieges it sustained in the Samnite War. L. 12, 9—15. A Roman colony was planted there b.c. 314; 9, 26, 3. Cf. infr. 14, 12: on the Lucerian wool cf. Hor. O. 3, 15, 14. The name Apulia survives in mod. Puglia (*piana* and *petrosa*). *Apuliae* here = gen. governed by *regionem*. Note phrase *circa Arpos...regionem* = τὴν περὶ Ἀρπους...χώραν: cf. 21, 24, 2.

6. *Servilius.* Cf. 8, 1; 11, 5.

Gallis, i.e. certain tribes which wanted to cast off the Roman yoke. Zon. 8, 25.

factis J. Gron., *actis* vulg. after P; but, though *agere bellum* is regularly used, *agere proelium* is not: *p. c. G. actis* comes under Quint.'s rule against ambiguity (8, 2, 16); but cf. infr. 40, 6.

collegae corr. Ascensius, *conlega* P.

i. intendit = *direxit*. Cf. 21, 29, 6.

7. *iterum*: Fabius had been dictator *comitiorum hab. causa* (8, 5) b.c. 221, with Flaminius as Master of the Horse; but as there was an irregularity in his election (*vitio creatus*) he resigned, and hence only speaks of his one dictatorship in 28, 40, f. Cf. Val. Max. 1, 1, 5. Pol. 3, 90 is niggardly in his praise of Fabius, as Wf. remarks, as opposed to Fab. Pict., Ennius and Coelius (L. 30, 26, 9).

quo die. Cf. 21, 5, 1.

ab dis orsus, 'beginning with mention of the gods'. Cf. 1, 14; 11, 1; 21, 6, 3; Plut. Fab. 4 καλλιστὴν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχήν. *neglegentia*. Cf. 3, 20, m. *neglegentia Deum* (for *neg.* = *nec* in compounds cf. *negotium*); 1, 32, 2.

caerimoniarum, &c. Cf. 3, 7; 21, 63, 7; 1, 32, 5. Val. Max. 1, 1, 10 derives the word from Caere, because of its zeal in the

auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, 8 quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, rettulerunt 9 patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae 10

cause of religion, as shown by Liv. 5, 40, f. Pott connects it with *cura*.

inscitia, 'inexperience'. Cf. 25, 12.

piacula, 'expiations'. Cf. 21, 10, 12: instances are given sup. 1, 15—20; infr. 9—11; ch. 10; 57, 1—7. For text cf. 40, 37, in. *piacula irae Deum conquirere*.

8. *non ferme* (P²: P¹ *ferre*), 'hardly ever'.

taetra = *dira*, 'shocking'. In ordinary cases the *libri Pontificales* (cf. 1, 20, 5; 4, 3, m.) or the directions of the Haruspices sufficed.

libros S. Cf. 21, 62, 6. These Greek books, preserved in the temple of the Capitoline Iuppiter, came, as Niebuhr H. R. 1, 506 supposes, from Ionia, thence perhaps to Cumae, and so to Rome. Müller (Class. Journ. 1822) derives the account of the Trojan origin of Rome from these books, on the basis of the connection of Cyme in Aeolis with Cumae.

9. *fatalibus*, 'of fate'—i.e. the Sibylline books containing the decrees of fate. Cf. 10, 10; 57, 6; 5, 15, 11.

e. b. causa, 'in view of', 'on account of': C. and B. here make a strange mistake in translating "seeing that a vow to Mars was the cause of the war":

causa is of course abl. (cf. 21, 17, 4), *votum* part. not subst. This vow had perhaps been made by Atilius in the preceding year. Cf. 21, 62, 10; see infr. 33, 7 for another deferred vow.

foret for esset. Cf. 21, 21, 1.

de integro. Cf. 21, 14, 1.

amplius = *opulentius*, 'on a larger (more splendid) scale'.

10. *ludos magnos*. Cf. 10, 7. These games were also called *Circenses Maximi Romani*, being celebrated in the Circus in honour of Iuppiter, Iuno, and Minerva, the three great gods, in the month of Sept. Cf. 1, 35, 10. They were instituted by Tarquin. Prisc. Cf. Cic. Rep. 2, 20, 36. They consisted of chariot races, combats of athletes &c., and were under the superintendence of the Curule Aediles. L. 31, 50; Cic. Verr. 5, 14, 36. Momms. 1, 235. On the enormous outlays, in addition to the sums voted by the senate, made by ambitious aediles like I. Caesar, to win popularity, cf. Cic. Off. 2, 17; Merivale, Fall of Rom. Rep. p. 217.

Erucinae = *Erycinae*, the former being the older form found on inscriptions and a coin of the Considian family exhibited by Riem. Cf. 21, 10, 7. For the beautiful temple of Venus on

ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectister-
niumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si
bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem, quo
11 ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus,
quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M.
Aemilium praetorem ex collegii pontificum sententia,
omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet.

Mt. Eryx, said to have been founded by Aeneas, cf. Strab. 13, 608; Virg. A. 5, 759; Hor. O. 1, 2, 33; for its wealth in the Peloponnesian War cf. Thuc. 6, 46, 3. The Carthaginians paid respect to this temple, as they identified Venus with the Phoenician Astarte; the Romans revered it on account of their connection with Aeneas.

Menti. Cf. infr. 40, 10 for this and foregoing; Ov. F. 6, 241—245. The temple dedicated B.C. 215 to Venus stood on the Capitoline Hill, L. 23, 30, m.; ib. 31, 17, m.: a second was erected at the Colline gate B.C. 182—121; Ov. F. 4, 181. This worship of 'Intellect' found its counterpart in that of 'Reason' during the French Revolution. August. Civ. D. 4, 21, m. says that people were committed *deae Menti, ut bonam haberent mentem.* Cf. Cic. Leg. 2, 8.

ver sacrum, 'a holy spring'. Cf. 10, 3. In times of calamity vows were made that everything born in the following spring should be offered in sacrifice to Iuppiter, Mars &c. Human sacrifices were replaced by expatriation, which gave rise to various Sabellian colonies; from such the Mamertines were sprung. The custom is said to have originated with the Sabines, when at war with the Umbrians, who sacrificed the young animals

to Mars, to whom they dedicated the children then born, and when full-grown they were banished, so that they might seek a foreign home. Liv. 33, 44, in. states that this vow was not performed until B.C. 195. Cf. 10, 2. It was promised by the praetor Corn. Mammula B.C. 217. *esset= fuerit in or. rect.* Cf. 21, 21, 9.

in eodem, &c. Cf. 21, 62, 10, where the prep. is omitted, as 30, 27, f. &c.

11. *esset*, subj. as being opinion of senate, not historian. *praetorem*, sc. *urbanum.* Cf. 33, 8; 21, 49, 6.

pontificum. Cf. 57, 3. The college of five pontifices, instituted by Numa, is placed by the Monumentum Ancyranum among the *quattuor summa Collegia*, the other three being the Augurs, *xv viri*, and *vii viri*. The Ogulnian Law B.C. 300 raised the number to eight under the Pontifex Max. These 'engineers' (as Momms. 1, 179 calls them) were supreme in matters of religion. Varro L. L. 4, 15 derives the name from the fact that they constructed and repaired the *pons publicus*. He mentions the derivation given by Q. Scaevola pont. Max., viz. *posse facere* = to sacrifice: Momms. thinks that *pons* originally = *via*, and therefore *pontifex* = a 'constructor of ways': Götting

X. *The ver sacrum, lectisternium and other religious observances decreed.*

His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegio praetorum, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet; iniussu populi voveri non posse. 2 Rogatus in haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam

gives *pompa* as first part of compound, because *processions* were conducted by these priests: others connect the word with *pomtis* (Oscan) = *πέρτε* (cf. Peile Et. 14), or Skt. *√pu*, Lat. *pu-rus* = a purifier. See Dict. Ant. s. v.

fiant. We should have expected imperf. as the secondary prop. comes first. Cf. 21, 27, 2: a similar irregularity occurs 21, 12, 6.

1. L. C. Lentulus Caudinus was consul B.C. 237, when he gained a triumph for his victory over the Ligurians. Liv. 25, 2, in. records his death B.C. 213. The Lentuli were a noble branch of the Cornelian family. Cf. Cic. F. 3, 7, 5 *Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere existimas?*

collegio praetorum P. Cf. Cic. Off. 3, 20, 80; L. 10, 22, in. Lips. conj. *collegium* (sc. *pontificum*) *praetore* (cf. 9, 11); so Madv. and most modern edd.

2. *iniussu*, abl. of attendant circumstances; for compound cf. *inconsultus, incultus: intactus* Lucr. 1, 455 is prob. spurious.

in haec verba, 'according to this formula'.

Velitis, &c. subj., and *ne* depends on *vos rogo* understood; for oblique form cf. 21, 17, 4:

for Asyndeton cf. 24, 6; it is especially common in religious formulae. Cf. 21, 63, 8: *ne* is affixed to second verb, as the two involve one notion; it is omitted by Cic. Dom. 17, 44; but cf. 1, 46, 1.

Quiritium = *gen. explicativus*, like *colonia colonorum*, *municipium municipum*: *Quirites* = warriors, cf. *κούρητες* (*quiris* or *curis* = *hasta* in Sabine dialect, Ov. F. 2, 477, 479—480). Liv. 1, 13, 5 connects name with Sabine town Cures. Niebuhr holds that *pop. Rom. Quir.* points to the two elements of the city population, i.e. Latins and Sabines. The people were called *Romani* as opposed to foreigners, *Quirites* with reference to their fellow-citizens, i.e. burgesses with full civic rights. Festus says that the title dates from the league between Romulus and T. Tatius, and *Quirites* points to *communione et societate populi factam*. Cf. *Quirinus*, *quiritare* and derivatives. See 1, 32, 11.

quinquennium: notwithstanding this vow 22 years elapsed before its performance, 33, 44, 1.

sicut velim eam salvam, Wfl. and Luterb.; cf. 50, 9; 53, 7: *sic*

salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano Carthaginensi est, quaeque duella
 3 cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populus-
 4 que iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto.

v. eamque s. P. H. Müll. adopts Haupt's conj. *esse* for *que*: Weiss. *stet.*, ut *v.*, *eamque* s. *servaverit* (sc. Iuppiter). Vulg. after ed. 1518 reads *s. v. eam.*, *salva servata erit* (last two words = corr. of Ursinus for *servaverit* of P). Riem. and B. follow Weiss., but read *steterit*, *sicut*. Madv. reads (for *eamque*) *voveamque*, *salva* s.

duellis=*bellis*: for the loss of the initial mute and change to *b* cf. *bis*=*duis*, *Duellona*=*Bellona*, *duonus*=*bonus* (Scipio's Epit. l. 4). From *duellum* through Ital. *duello* comes our 'duel'. Cf. 1, 32, 12.

quod duellum...sunt: Lips. and Gron. transferred these words from their place in the MSS., i.e. after following *Quiritium* (as in vulg. preferred by Weiss. as an archaic formula, cf. Corp. Ins. L. 3, 1933).

quod duellum: for repetition of subst. cf. 21, 17, 4: on the position of the relative cf. 9, 7; 21, 5, 1.

3. *tum* (Madv.) in apodosis, after conditional sentence, cf. 53, 11; 21, 11, 8: vulg. after P=*datum*, which may be taken as subst. Cf. Cic. Cluent. 24, 66 *donis*, *dati muneribusque perfecterat*; for synonyms cf. infr. 6: Gron. makes it part. agreeing with *donum*, i.e. now 'given' in

intention, by the vow. Harant conj. *servaverint di, tum* &c. Perh. Liv. wrote *debitum*.

duit=*det*; for this archaic subj. form chiefly found in old formulas, prayers, and imprecations, cf. Cic. R. Deiot. 7, 21 *di te perdunt* (so *sim*, *velim*, *nolim*, *malim*, *edim*): for another old formula cf. 10, 19, 17. Here we have other archaisms, *faxit* § 4, *faxitur* § 6, *clepsit* § 5.

ver, defined 34, 44, in. *inter Kal. Mart. et pridie Kal. Maias. bovillo* Sigon., *nouillo* P.

profana, 'not already dedicated to some other God', 'unconsecrated'; cf. infr. 5.

fieri, sc. *sacra* (1, 31, 3)=*sacrificari*, cf. infr. 5—6; 10, 42, f.; Cic. Att. 1, 12, 3; Juv. 9, 117: so *operator* Hor. O. 3, 14, 6, like Gr. *πέσω*, *ἔρσω*. The infin. is explanatory of *donum duit*, involving the notion of a *promise*.

ex qua die, 'on and after the day' which the S. P. Q. R. shall appoint: cf. sup. 2: for gender of *dies* cf. 8, 6.

4. *faciet*, sc. *Iovi*.

quando, i.e. after the time has been fixed.

quaque lege, 'in what manner', or 'according to what rite'; cf. 1, 26, 6.

faxit = *fecerit* (fut. perf.), cf. 36, 2, 5: also form *ausim* Praef. 1. For other archaisms

Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve in- 5
sciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo
scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit 6
insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si
servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si an-
tidea, ac senatus populusque iusserit fieri, faxitur,

cf. 1, 18, 9; ib. 24, 8; ib. 32, 7. The many syncopated verbal forms in Comedy were doubtless those of common use, cf. *re-speris, dixis, dixti, dixi, promisse, erepsemus, implesem*. Cf. Plaut. Aul. Wagner's Int. pp. 15, 51. Key Lat. G. 566. Hor. S. 1, 5, 79 (Orelli's note): Lucr. 4, 823.

probe, &c. 'it shall be considered duly done'.

Si...moritur: note pres. for fut.; cf. 53, 11; 21, 41, 15 (where however the reference is rather to a present hypothesis): the condition merely, not the time, is to be emphasized, cf. 3, 52, m.

profanum esto, 'it shall be considered unconsecrated'.

neque=neve. Cf. 3, 10; 21, 22, 6.

scelus=fraus, ἄγος, i.e. 'guilt' involving penalty now and hereafter, for not offering the sacrifice.

5. *rumpet*, 'shall wound': this verb is frequently found in the Digests = *corrumpo, violo*; cf. Dig. 47, 10, 9 *qui eum flagris rumpat*.

fraus=noxa, cf. 23, 14, in., or *dammum*, cf. 1, 24, 5; 3, 53, m.

clepsit, 'shall have stolen', fut. perf. of archaic *clepo* (κλέπτω) = *furor*. Cf. Attius 212 (Trag. Lat. ed. Ribbeck) *clepere*, 535 *clepsisse*, 292 *cleperet*: Pacuv. 185 *clepit*.

cui, &c. 'to him from whom it was stolen': *cleptum* is read. of old edd. P and M *coeptum*, C *ceptum*.

6. *atro=nefasto, religioso*—so *ἡμέραι μέλαινα* Plut. Luc. 27— or *ἀποφράδες*. The day following the Calends, Nones and Ides respectively was *ater*, 'unlucky', on which no public act could take place (6, 1, f.). Such too were days marked by great national disasters, as that on which the Fabii fell at the Cremera (L. 2, 50) and the *dies Alliensis* (5, 37, f.). The term prob. arose from the fact that the Romans marked in the Calendar unlucky days with *black*, op. *albus*.

antidea (late MSS.: P *ante id ea*, hence vulg. *anteidea*) *ac=antea quam=antequam*. The original form of the prep. was *anted* or *antid*, Gr. *ἀντι*, cf. Corss. Aussp. 1, 337—the *d* being found in *prodeo*, *redeo*, and the abls. *extrad*, *suprad*, *prae-dad* &c. in Old Latin. Cf. the Plautine *antideo*, *antidhac*, *postidea*, *postilla*. For a similar archaism cf. 38, 4: *ac* is justified by its involving the notion of dissimilarity, Madv. 444, b: its position is due to Stroth; it follows *fieri* in P (so vulg.).

faxitur=(fut. perf. pass. impersonal) *factum erit*: cf. *mercassitur, turbassitur*, though some read *turbassit* in Cic. Leg. 3, 4; *iussitur* [Forc. takes this as = *iu-*

7 eo populus solutus liber esto." Eiusdem rei causa
ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus mili-
bus, *trecentis triginta tribus* triente, praeterea bubus
Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque
8 ceteris hostiis. *Λ* Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio
edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac
liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium
etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque
9 contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum
habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pul-

betur; but *iussitur* : *iusso* (Virg. A. 11, 467) :: *faxitur* : *fazo*].

eo, &c. 'the people shall be acquitted and free from this', viz. the obligation to sacrifice: for the Asyndeton cf. sup. 2; 37, 12; 21, 15, 4.

7. *Eiusdem* refers to § 2; cf. 9, 9.

ludi m. Cf. 9, 10.

aeris, sc. *assium*, 'at a cost of 300 &c. asses'. The *as libralis* or *aes grave* = 12 ounces of copper, or bronze, was reduced first to 10 ounces, in B.C. 269 to 4 ounces, in B.C. 264–241 to 2 ounces, and in the Dictatorship of Fabius B.C. 217 to 1 ounce. But as the old standard was maintained for military pay and other purposes (4, 60, m.; 32, 26, m.) it is probable that for religious offerings it was still in force. If therefore we calculate the *aes grave* = 1 *sestertius* (Hultsch, *Metrol.* 195; Momms. *Römisch. Münzwes.* 302) the cost of these games was about £2777.

trecentis: the number three and its multiples were regarded as sacred by the Romans. cf. 1, 15; 21, 62, 6; 27, 37, 7; Virg. A. 1, 265–6–9–72; ib. 4, 510; Hor. O. 1, 28, 36; ib. 2, 14, 5; ib. Ep. 1, 1, 37. For the 'perfection'

and 'potency' of the number cf. Schol. Theoc. 2, 43; according to Pythagoras this mystic number limited the universe, Arist. Cael. 1, 1 τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τριῶν ὁρίσται...καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀγιστάς τῶν θεῶν χρήματα τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ. The Jews also attached a mystic value to this number as well as to seven.

trecentis tr. trib., wanting in MSS., inserted by Scaliger after Plut. Fab. 4.

Iovi, sc. *fieri votum est*: for abl. of victim cf. Virg. Ec. 3, 77; sup. 3.

8. *edicta*, sc. a M. Aemilio 9, 11; 21, 62, 9.

-que iere cum is the acute emend. of Gron. for *quiregum* of P.

multitudo, 'population'; for *iere* cf. 24, 3, f. *multitudo abeunt*: Liv. often has plur. after this noun.

quos, &c. 'who, being possessed of some private means, were also interested in the welfare of the state': for *in* = *propter* cf. 24, 14; 21, 39, 3: on *fortuna* cf. 1, 56, 7.

publica. Gron. contrary to MSS. reads *publicae* (so vulg.); but cf. infr. 33, 6.

9. *decemviris*. Cf. sup. 1, 16–17, 19; 9, 8; 21, 62, 6. Ch. and B. somewhat quaintly translate "ecclesiastical commission-

vinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes votae. Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

XI. *Measures adopted by Fabius with a view to the war.*

Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello deque 1 re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule 2

ers". This priestly college was constituted B.C. 367, half the members being plebeians. Cf. Virg. A. 6, 73.

pulvinaria. Cf. 21, 62, 9.

in conspectu, &c. 'were publicly prepared'; as this involves the notion *strata sunt*, the dat. *Iovi* &c. follows.

Minervae. This goddess in Roman mythology is regularly conjoined with Iuppiter and Iuno, and their united temple stood on the Capitol; but in accordance with the Sibylline books and Greek mythology, she is joined with Poseidon: cf. Keightley Myth. pp. 78, 455. The Greek deities here enumerated were no doubt introduced into Italy as early as the regal period through the medium of these books, and were associated with the gods of Latium, Etruria, and the Sabelian race. For the twelve Olympic gods, six male and six female, cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 532.

To a Roman mind there was a special fitness in associating Mars and Venus, as connected with the foundation of the city: cf. Liv. 1, 1, 8; ib. 4, 2.

10. *V. Erucinae*: for *Venus* and *Mars* cf. 9, 10.

fatalibus. Cf. 9, 8.

editum Bâle ed. 1535: *edictum* P and most MSS.; but cf. 21, 62, 7: these two words, as Heerw. remarks, are frequently confused in MSS., in some of which *edita* for *edicta* (sup. 8) is found.

vovit: the actual dedication was deferred for two years. Cf. 23, 31, m.

1. *Ita rebus*, &c. 'when the duties of religion had been thus fulfilled'. Cf. 9, 7; 10, 1.

tum. Cf. 21, 25, 12.

deque r. p. late MSS.; *reque de p.* P and M (so vulg.; for position of *que* cf. 9, 10; 26, 7): *reque p.* C (so Adv.).

quotve, cf. 7, 7; Adv. reads *-que* with a late MS.

exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut *e re publica* duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoquoque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius, qua

conferre
in d.
subj.
etiam
per
etiam

2. *exercitum*, i.e. two legions (27, 10) together with half of what remained of the army of the preceding year; cf. 2, 1.

scriberet=*conscriberet*, 'enlist' (*καταγράφω, καταλέγω*): the two verbs occur together 21, 26, 2 and 3; cf. ib. 17, 3.

quantum...videretur, sc. *ipsi*, cf. 21, 17, 2.

ut e re &c. 'as he might consider best for the interests of the state': for *e*, *ex*=in accordance with, cf. Rob. 1940.

3. *duas*. Pol. 3, 88, 7 says that he left the city with four legions; but it seems more probable that he took with him only two, leaving two for garrison duty &c.; cf. *infr.* 9.

Iis, dat. after *edixit*.

Tibur, acc. of place whither, after *conveniendum*, or dependent on whole sentence *diem ad c. edixit*, cf. 23, 31 *cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies*; ib. 32, 14 *militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit*: *convenio* is sometimes omitted, cf. 10, 38, 4 *exercitus Aquiloniam indictus*: for *diem*, acc. of object, cf. 12, 1. Tibur (mod. Tivoli) is about 18 miles from Rome, between which places a steam-tram now conveys the traveller. It is first mentioned L. 3, 58; but its remote antiquity is attested by the fact

that Dion. Hal. 1, 16 states that it was a city of the Siculi. Cf. Hor. O. 1, 18, 2; Virg. 7, 630, from which the city arms derive their motto. For its siege A.D. 1155, cf. Gibbon, ch. 69. It is now an unhealthy place—hence the couplet "*Tivoli di mal conforto, | O piove, o tira vento, o suona amoro*"—having degenerated since the days of Horace. When I visited the place last year I was especially struck by the beauty of the scenery and the famous *Cascastelle* or cascades.

4. *ut...uti*. Note common repetition after an intervening sentence, for the sake of perspicuity. Cf. 3, 64, f.; 23, 7, 6: see 21, 49, 8. Luterb. and Wfl. adopt Gron's. conj. *ut ii* for *uti*.

castella, 'strongholds', cf. 39, 16; 21, 33, 11; ib. 11, 10, where it='a redoubt'. The word often refers to fortified habitations built on mountain heights; cf. Virg. G. 3, 475; like *arx* Hor. O. 4, 14, 11.

immunita, 'unfortified'; but Tac. A. 11, 19 has *immunio*=*munio*: for other participial compounds with negative *in*, cf. *indictus*, *infectus*, *infrenatus*, *inctus*, which in form do not differ from the participles of *indico*, *inficio* &c.

regionis (= *gen. possessivus*,

iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via 5 Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, quum ad Tiberim circa Otriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus

Madv. 281) depends on *omnes* 'all the population of' (lit. 'all belonging to'); it might possibly be governed by *agris*, but the other construction is supported by 41, 5; 24, 25, 10.

5. *copia*. Fabius, knowing that Hann. received no supplies from Carthage, regularly adopted this method to reduce his foe. App. H. 13, 17.

via Flaminia. The Flaminian Way was constructed B.C. 220 by the censor, C. Flaminius Nepos, slain at the Trasimene Lake, and was the first of the celebrated roads, whose focus was Rome. Cf. Epit. 20. This road ran from Rome through the *Porta Flaminia* (mod. Porta del Popolo), crossing the Tiber at the Mulvian Bridge (mod. Ponte Molle), to Ariminum, passing through the south of Etruria, and the Umbrian towns Otriculum, Narnia and Spoletium. Strabo v. 217 erroneously attributes this work to C. Flaminius, son of the preceding, who was consul B.C. 187. The latter constructed a road between Bononia and Arretium, connected with Rome by the Via Cassia. L. 39, 2, m. Cf. Mart. 10, 6; Merivale, Rom. 2, 142.

exercitu (reading of P) = dat., cf. 2, 1; vulg. *exercitui*.

Otriculum (mod. Otricoli). During the Umbrian War this town formed an alliance with Rome B.C. 308; cf. 9, 41, f. For

its later history cf. Tac. H. 3, 78; Plin. Ep. 6, 25, 1.

progredientem old edd.: *prodi-entem* P with several MSS.: *prodeuntem* vulg. with inferior MSS.

viatorem, 'an apparitor': the text follows inferior MSS. P, C, and M with many other MSS. have *viatore misso*, which Weiss. accepts as genuine, suggesting that *substitit* has dropped out. These couriers derived their name from their office, which was to summon senators from their country estates, as *viator* primarily = ὁδοιπόρος. Cf. Cic. Sen. 16. Originally they, along with lictors, attended the superior magistrates generally, but subsequently they were attached only to magistrates possessed of *potestas*, but not *imperium*, e.g. censors, tribunes of the people &c. Cf. L. 2, 56, s. f. They might arrest (*prehendere*) individuals, but not in general bind them (*ligare*), which was done by the lictors; Valgus in A. Gell. 12, 3 mentions an exception.

sine lictoribus, i.e. in token that his power was now subordinated to that of the dictator. The derivation of the word is uncertain; cf. A. Gell. l. c. Some say it is contracted for *ligator*; others from *licio* 'to summon', whence = 'messenger' (so Momms.); Plut. Rom. 26 states that the original form was λικῶρεις = λειτουργοί. Pol. calls them βαβδοφόροι and βαβδοῦχοι, Plut. βαβδονόμοι. A dic-

6 ad dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus, navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et

tator had 24, consul 12, praetor 6, Vestal virgin 1. Momms. 3, 349 (n.) however thinks that, notwithstanding the assertion of Dionys. 10, 24, Liv. Epit. 98 is right in saying that Sulla was the first dictator who had 24, while originally, like the king (1, 8, 2), the dictator had but 12. The *lictors* and *viatores* are included under the generic *apparitores*. Fabius afterwards was compelled by his son to show respect to him as consul, 24, 44, f. Cf. Plut. Ap. Fab. 7; ib. Fab. 24.

6. *ingentem* &c. 'had enhanced the prestige of the dictatorship'. *vetustate*, 'from its antiquity'; for abl. cf. 27, 1; 52, 7; ib. 21; 53, 2: the last dictator was Calatinus; cf. 8, 5.

commeatum. Cf. 21, 25, 14.

Ostia. For gender cf. Gk. *Ὀρτία*, though Liv. sometimes prefers neut., cf. 37, 1; 57, 1; but Festus says that its founder, Ancus Martius, made the name feminine. Cf. L. 1, 33, 8. This city of Latium and port of Rome was 16 miles from the last place, and at one time contained 80,000 inhabitants: whereas the modern village, about a mile from the

ancient city, founded by Gregory IV. A.D. 830, contains only 50, who are engaged at the salt-works, of which Liv. l. c. speaks. In A.D. 46 Claudius constructed his famous harbour (mod. Porto) on the opposite side; cf. Juv. 12, 75 sqq. It was from Ostia that Claudius set out on his expedition to Britain.

in H. ad. Cf. 21, 49, 3: this alludes to Cn. Scipio's army, 21, 60, 1; ib. 32, 3; ib. 17, 8.

portum Cosanum. Rutil. Itin. 1, 285 sqq. calls it Portus Herculis, whence its modern name Porto d'Ercole. Cosa or Cosae (Virg. 10, 168) was an Etrurian town near the promontory M. Argentarius. It first appears in history as a Roman colony B.C. 273. L. Epit. 14; Cic. Att. 9, 6, 9. It is now represented by the ruins of Ansidonia, near Orbetello.

7. *ad urbem R.*, i.e. in the dockyards (*navalia*) outside the Porta Trigemina; cf. 45, 2, f. Polyb. 3, 75 states that 60 quinqueremes were fitted out this year: for ad cf. sup. 8, 1.

navalibus sociis = *nautis, classiariis*. Cf. 21, 49, 7.

8. *libertini*: cf. 1, 18. Freed-

aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano 9 exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi, alii, ut urbi praesiderent, relictii.

men at Rome suffered under serious disabilities. They could only vote in the four city tribes, in which they were enrolled by Serv. Tullius, though App. Claudius included them in all the tribes; but this right was taken from them seven years afterwards—L. 9, 46, the restriction being repeated B.C. 220. Again, Tib. Gracchus, censor B.C. 169, recalled them from the other 31 to the four city tribes, respecting which Cic. Or. 1, 38 says *quod nisi fecisset, rempublicam...iam diu nullam haberemus*, i.e. owing to the pernicious influence which they would have exercised on the elections. Momms. characterizes them as “a mixture of mendicant rabble and extremely rich parvenus, no longer slaves, and not yet fully burgesses.” Sulpicius and Cinna proposed a law granting to the freedmen equality of suffrage with the old burgesses, which passed into law B.C. 84; but this was cancelled by Sulla two or three years afterwards. For the failure of the attempt of G. Manilius to revive the Sulpician law cf. Momms. 4, 159. Only *ingenui* were entitled to serve in the legions; though on dangerous crises like the present freedmen were armed—cf. 10, 21, 4; and even two legions of slaves were formed B.C. 216, *infr.* 57, 11. It was not till B.C. 89 that freedmen might legally serve. *Epit.* 74. Perhaps these men were now required not to supplement the legions, but only as *socii navales* for the 120 quin-

queremes forming the Roman fleet.

liberi: though they had no interests in the state like the burgesses, yet they had children who attached them to Rome, and were hostages for their good behaviour—cf. 10, 8, the children at the same time being *ingenui*, and thus eligible for the 35 tribes.

aetas militaris, i.e. from the age of 17 to 46. Cf. 57, 9; 25, 5, 7; 43, 14, 3. Exceptions are found in 25, 5; L. 42, 33.

in verba &c. ‘had taken the prescribed oath’. Cf. 53, 12: the prep. implies a formula (*concepta verba*), cf. 10, 2: for the military oath cf. 38, 2—5: for the *iusiurandum* cf. 21, 1, 4. The oath was usually administered by a military tribune. Cf. 2, 32, 1; 3, 20, 4.

9. *urbano*, i.e. the forces raised from the *tribus urbanae* as op. to *tr. rusticae*. These city troops constituted the Roman reserve. Cf. 27, 8, m.

minores...annis. Cf. 42, 33, 4: for the various forms of this expression cf. Rob. L. G. 1273: *natus* is usually omitted in the above expression, though Cic. Verr. 2, 49 has it.

impositi. Cf. 21, 27, 9.

alii, ‘the rest’ = *ceteri, reliqui*. Cf. 21, 12, 6; 1, 12, 9: so ἀλλοι Hom. Il. 2, 1.

praesiderent, ‘to garrison’ = *praesidio essent*. Cf. 36, 5, m. *praesidere Epiro*: so 3, 48, m. *praesides provinciarum exercitus*: cf. use of καθίσω Pol. 20, 6, 8.

XII. *Hannibal offers battle, which Fabius, adopting a cautious policy, refuses.*

- 1 Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit.
- 2 Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.
- 3 Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Poenus
- 4 educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et

1. *a...legato*, i.e. because the consul (11, 2) had gone to Ostia 11, 7. Cf. 21, 39, 3.

quo diem. All the MSS. except MS. Ber. give *die*. Cf. 11, 3; 28, 5, in.: *quo* refers to *Tibur*.

2. *Praeneste* acc., cf. 1, 9.

transversis. These words are repeated 2, 39, 3, with the substitution of *trimitibus* for *limitibus*; cf. infr. 15, 11. These 'cross-ways' or 'by-ways' are opposed to the direct *via Praenestina* = *prorsus limes*: cf. *obliquis trimitibus egressi* 5, 16, 5; 7, 15, m.

v. Latinam. The 'Latin Way' ran from Rome to Beneventum by the *Porta Latina*, not far from the *Porta Appia*, in the outer wall of Honorius, the *v. Latina* having diverged from the *v. Appia* about halfway between that wall and the *Porta Capena* in the inner wall of Servius. Cf. use of *trivium* and *compitum*, as applied to town and country respectively.

ad hostem ducit. Cf. 19, 6;

infr. 3; 21, 22, 5; 1, 23, 5: so $\delta\gamma\omega$ and $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\eta\omega$ are found with ellipse of object.

quantum = *in quantum*. Cf. infr. 8.

commissurus, fut. of purpose or intention. Cf. 21, 13, 6: for other examples cf. Nägelsb. 370: see infr. 9.

3. *Quo &c.* 'on the day that he first pitched his camp' &c.

Arpis. Cf. 9, 5. Pol. 3, 88 states that this happened at Aecae, another Apulian town (mod. Troja) about 14 miles S.W. of Arpi, cf. 24, 20, 2: hence Gron. here reads *Aecis*.

mora...quin. Cf. 21, 50, 11.

4. *mota* = *turbata*, not to be confounded with technical phrase 21, 39, 10.

increpans, 'tauntingly exclaiming'. Cf. 3, 11; so 21, 36, 3: *quidem* answers to *ceterum*, like $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon$, distinguishing his outward bearing from his inward feelings.

victos...animos. Cf. 21, 12, 6.

illos Haupt, quos P. Jenicke

concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, 5 quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem non vim dictatoris extemplo 6 timuit; constantiam haudum expertus, agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit, et modo 7 citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum

conj. *antiquos*, cf. 25, 10; Walk. *quoque*.

Martios. A taunt at the Romans' supposed descent from Mars. Cf. 38, 17, 18; 1, 4, 2.

debellatum, 'the war was now at an end'. Cf. 2, 31, in., stronger than *profligare bellum*, 21, 40, 11. See 14, 14.

concessum &c. 'they had openly given up their claim to valour'. Cf. 25, 7. P appends *-que*, other MSS. *quas*, *qui*, *quae*, or *quod*.

5. *ceterum*=*sed*. Cf. 21, 6, 1. *incessit* (Muret's conj. supported by a late MS.), P *incensum*, vulg. *incensus*; for this Greek construction, rarely used by Liv., cf. 21, 7, 10; but the text is amply supported by 1, 56, 5; 23, 38, 5 &c. Caes. B. G. 3, 74 has dat. *exercitui incessit dolor*.

Flaminio (P², P¹ *flaminis*) *Sempronioque* P, Alsch. *Flamini Sempronique*. Wfl. prefers this as the gen. is used of mental resemblance (39, 1), dat. of bodily likeness (26, 50, 13); but I have retained the dat. of MS. on account of the close parallel in L. 44, 4 *si hostem similem antiquis Macedonum regibus habuisset*. Cf. Rob. 1317 on Livy's use of *similis*.

futura &c. 'he would have to deal with'.

tum. Cf. 8, 4.

edocti. P *et docti*. Cf. 21, 34, 2.

6. *prudentiam*. Theop. quality is exhibited by Minucius 29, 1; so Diod. 26, 3, 3 opposes the ἀρχινοια of the dictator to the ἀποσύρνη of his *magister equitum*. non vim P. I. Gron. conj. *novi ductoris* (the adj. is preferred by Madv., Müll., &c., though the MS. reading needs no change). Luterb. reads *novam*=*insolitam*.

haudum=*nondum*, found, according to Stürenburg on Cic. Off. only in Liv. and in only the following passages, in addition to this—2, 52, m.; 10, 6, in.; ib. 25, m.; 28, 2, in.; 29, 11, in.; 33, 11, in.; but cf. Sil. 2, 332. For *dum* attached to negative cf. Madv. 462, a.

agitare &c. 'to harass him and try his temper'.

in oculis, 'before his eyes'; cf. 14, 3. Weiss. notices the bias against plebeian generals, which Livy frequently exhibits, derived probably from Fabius Pictor, while patricians are held up to admiration. Cf. 3, 10; 38, 6—8; 21, 53, 1.

- 8 posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congredieretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim;
- 9 equitum levisque armaturae statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus prae-
- 10 bebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tan-

7. *si...posset*, 'to try whether he could', 'in the hope that he might catch F.'; cf. 13, 1; L. 42, 67: usually *tempto, experior* or the like precede. Cf. 1, 57, 2; Rob. 1754. Cf. 21, 62, 10. So *ei* is used in Gr., cf. *Madv. G. S.* 194, a, 2. *excipere*. Cf. 32, 2; 21, 61, 8; the metaphor is explained by *Phaed.* 1, 11, 5—6.

in aequum. Cf. 14, 11; 21, 33, 7.

occultus. Several inferior MSS. give *occulte*; but adj. for adv. is common in Liv.; cf. 7, 7; especially this one, cf. 9, 23, 6 *substitit occultus*; for other instances see Nägelsb. 262; *Madv.* 300, a. *subsistebat*, 'halted': P and other MSS. give *obsistebat*; but this occurs in quite a different sense, cf. 21, 41, 15: the corruption is intelligible from the last letter of preceding word.

8. *per l. alta*. Cf. Pol. 3, 9 *παρὰ τὰς πρυμνίας*.

omitteret, 'let him out of his sight', C. and B.: hence Hann. called him his *παράγωγός*, Plut. Fab. 4.

Castris...tenebatur, cf. 18, 1: for *quantum*=*in quantum* cf. 57, 1.

necessarii cogerent Weiss.: P

necessarii cogeret; which vulg. follows, reading *necessario*. Cf. § 2; 2, 3: after the verb supply *egredi*, and for the Zeugma cf. 1, 33, 6; for *conjunct. iterativ.* cf. 2, 7. *Usus* is explained in next sentence, and probably includes *aquatio*.

statio, 'pickets', in front of the camp; cf. 45, 3.

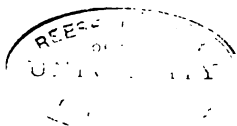
9. *infesta*=*intuta, periculosa*: for another sense cf. § 11.

10. *neque universo* &c. 'all his chances were not staked on a pitched battle' (or 'on the hazard of a general engagement'); cf. 32, 2; 23, 16, 4, where *universa pugna*=*ὁλοσχερὴς κλῖσις*, or *συμπλοκή* in Pol.

parva &c.=*parvi momenti levia certamina*, 'trifling conflicts of small importance, which were safely attempted, as there was a retreat close at hand'; cf. 21, 43, 11: *parva momenta*=*σμικρά, λεπτα βωα*, expresses the turning of the scales in favour of the Roman arms.

ex tuto. Cf. 15, 5; 21, 32, 7.

receptu refers to *castris*, § 8; the text is due to Lipsius. P reads *finitimorum receptum quae pristinis*. P and two of the



dem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed 11
non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis
habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud,
quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem
publicam praecipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque
consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, 12
dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro
cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, com-
pellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima
ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese
extollebat.

best MSS. add in *his*, whence Gron. conj. *trinis*; but the addition is no doubt due to the copyist repeating the final syllables of *pristinis*.

paenitere, 'to be dissatisfied with': note personal use of this verb; cf. 36, 22, in.; Cic. Att. 2, 4, 2; this often occurs in the infin. part. and gerund. Cf. Madv. 218, a, 3.

11. *Sed non* &c. 'but his prudent measures found an opponent in the master of the horse no less than in Hann.' Nägelsb. 482 compares for construction Cic. Font. 14, 31 *cum his vos testibus vestram religionem coniungetis* = 'will your conscience make common cause with these witnesses?' Cf. 19, 11; 27, 3.

impar erat I. Gron., *imperabat* P and best MSS.: old edd. accept this, prefixing *non*; Ruben. conj. *parebat*; but Minucius possessed the *imperium*, though subject to the dictator: for abl. *imperio* cf. 15, 9.

morae depends on *nihil*; cf. 21, 45, 9. Translate 'who was only prevented from ruining the state by the inferiority of his power', i.e. to that possessed by Fabius.

rapidus, 'rash', 'precipitate'.

immodicus. Cf. 4, 49, s. f. *nactus superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam*.

in vulgus, 'before the ranks', cf. 3, 14; 30, 7.

pro, 'instead of'; cf. 39, 20: Minucius' taunt was perhaps the origin of Fabius' celebrated *agnomen*; cf. 30, 26, m., where Liv., quoting Ennius, is uncertain whether the Dictator was *ingenio cunctator*, or merely acted as such during this war. Cf. 14, 5.

pro cauto late MSS., *et cauto* P and C: cf. 14, 14. Cf. Hor. S. 1, 3, 61, with lines preceding from l. 44.

compellabat involves the notion of reproach; cf. 4, 32, f. *imbelles compellans*: so ἀποκαλέω, cf. my ed. of Lucian p. 54.

premendoque superiorem I. Gron., P and all MSS. *praemendorum superiorum*: hence vulg. *premendorumque superiorum arte*; but cf. 59, 10: *premo* here = *deprimo*, *elevo*, 'to depreciate', cf. 23, 1, in. Perhaps Liv. alludes to Marius' conduct towards Metellus, Sall. I. 64, 5.

superiorem; for the adj. masc. in sing. = subst. cf. 29, 8, 8; Sall. I. 41, 8; Nägelsb. 88, 2. For the words following Heerw.

XIII. *Hannibal's operations in Samnium and Campania. His guide conducts him to Casilinum, instead of Casinum, through an error of pronunciation.*

1 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahare ad

adduces a good parallel in Phaed. 2, 3, 7.

1. *ex Hirpinis.* Hann. had marched from the Apulian Luceria or Arpi (9, 5; 12, 3) into the territory of the Hirpini, situated in the south of Samnium. They were a Sabellian race, who were led into their homes, according to the legend, by a wolf (*hirpus*, cf. *ἄραξ*), whence their name. Some think they derived their name from their predatory habits. They, with the Frentani, Pentri, and Caudini were included in the Samnite league, which was probably dissolved B.C. 272. Cf. Momms. 1, 435. They espoused the Carthaginian cause after B.C. 216; cf. 61, 11; L. 23, 1; but finally submitted B.C. 209; L. 27, 15. See Virg. A. 7, 563.

Samnium here = the Caudini, distinguished from the Hirpini; in 61, 11 the Samnites are again distinguished from them; so in 23, 43, in.; they doubtless became an independent tribe on the dissolution of the league.

transit, sc. *Apenninum*; cf. Pol. 3, 88 and 90.

Beneventanum. *Beneventum* (mod. Benevento), was a Samnite town, rendered famous by the defeat of Pyrrhus B.C. 274. It was originally called *Maleventum* from its unhealthiness,

but on receiving a Roman colony, B.C. 268, obtained a name of better omen. (Such euphemisms were common, especially in Greece; cf. *Εὐξείνιος* for *Ἀξείνιος*, *εὐάννυμος* for *δυσάννυμος*; cf. Photius s. v. *Σεμναὶ θεαὶ κατ' εὐφημισμὸν αἱ Ἐρινύες ὥσπερ αἱ αὐταὶ Εὐμενίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.*) Cf. Epit. 15; 9, 27, f.; Hor. S. 1, 5, 71. For the crushing defeat of Manfred at this place A.D. 1266 cf. Gibbon, ch. 62.

Telesiam (mod. Teles). This town lay between Beneventum and Callifae, on a branch of the Latin Way. It was recovered three years later by Fabius, 24, 20, 8. Here the Marian general Pontius was born. Murray describes it now as 'a miserable village'. The MS. of Pol. 3, 90 wrongly gives *Οὐενουσίαν πόλιν*, Venusia being an Apulian town, though Strab. 5, 250 places it in Samnium.

ducem, sc. *Romanum*, which Müll. inserts: Wfl. suggests *dictatorem*.

si. Cf. 12, 7. Madv. 451, d. *cladibusque*: *que* is wanting in P and other MSS.; for Asyn-deton Heerw. compares 21, 46, 4. Madv. &c. adopt *ac*, conj. of Weiss.

detrahare and *aequum* imply a battle in the plain; cf. 12, 8.

aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem socio-
rum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab
Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites
erant, multis iam tum illecti donis promissisque
Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi
nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset,
Capuae potiendae copiam fore, quum res maior
quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternis-
que fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex
Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque
etiam promissa rebus affirmarent, iussosque cum
pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit.
Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat,

2. *capti* &c. Cf. 7, 5.

iam tum, 'even then', i.e. when
H. had dismissed them.

3. *Capuae*, cf. 1, 12; for a
different construction cf. 21, 45,
9.

res &c. 'the undertaking was
greater than the authority of
those who proposed it', or 'the
matter seemed too important for
the authority on which it rested'
(C. and B.), explaining *dubium*.
Hann. would have preferred a
greater number, and more in-
fluential persons; see § 4. Cf.
1, 16, 5.

alternis, sc. *vicibus*, 'alternately',
abl. of manner. Cf. Rob.
1237. See 41, 3.

C. ex Samnio: C. and B. trans-
late as if text were *ex Campanis*
in Samnium. Pol. 3, 90 and 91
does not mention the 'three
knights', but represents H. as
advancing for the sake of sup-
plies, and persuaded *ἡ μάχεσθαι*
τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσειν (cf. 15,
2), *ἡ πᾶσι δῆλον ποιήσειν ὅτι κρα-*
τεῖ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὀρυψ-
σειν πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπό-
στασιν.

4. *etiam atque etiam* &c. 'the

promises they had made over
and over again'. Gron. places
ut before *promissa*, thus connect-
ing *etiam* &c. with *monitos*; but
cf. 41, 19, m. Fab. quotes four
parallel passages from Lucretius;
cf. Lucr. 1, 1049. Cf. infr. 42, 4.

aliquibus: though Liv. else-
where (e.g. 26, 49, 6) uses *aliquis*
in abl., like *quis* 21, 62, 2, all
the MSS. here seem to attest
this form. Fab. quotes Sen. Ep.
92 *aliquibus commodis* (p. 586, A.
ed. Lips.).

principum: the Capuan aris-
tocracy adhered to the Roman
side; cf. 23, 2, m.

5. *duci*, sc. *viae* or *itineris* (cf.
Curt. 5, 7, f.); 21, 27, 4.

Casinatem. *Casinum* (mod.
San Germano) was a town of
Latium on the Latin Way, colo-
nized by Rome B.C. 312; cf. L.
9, 28. The name, according to
Varro L. L. 7, 29, in Samnite
= *forum vetus*, is still preserved
in the name of the monastery,
Monte Casino, founded by S.
Benedict A.D. 529, on the site of
a temple of Apollo; cf. Dante
Par. 22. As I passed it on my
way to Naples, I was struck by

edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum; sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum *pronuntiatione os*, *Casilinum* pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in cam-

its fortress-like position on the summit of a lofty hill, overhanging San Germano.

edoctus. Cf. 21, 27, 4; 32, 10.

saltum, i.e. the pass leading into the valley of the Liris (mod. Liri). They forgot that though Hann. would command the Via Latina at Casinum, forces might be brought from Rome by the Via Appia. Moreover Fabius, advancing from Apulia and Samnium, would hardly go so far north; cf. 12, 3.

sociis, i.e. especially Capua, § 3.

6. *Punicum* &c. 'Hannibal's Carthaginian accent being unsuited to the pronunciation of Latin names'; cf. 21, 32, 10. The text is due to Weiss.: P, with the three best MSS., omits words between *nominum* and *pro* (probably a copyist's error on account of the repetition of the final syllables ...*inum pro*): Gron. simply changes *ab* into *os*; but this use of *gen.* lacks support, notwithstanding *metuens* 3, 4 (he wrongly quotes 29, 34, 2 *gentium aspernatus*, where we must supply *equites*): Drak., with inferior MSS., reads *prolatione*, which is ἀπαξ λεγ. in this sense: Fab. prefers reading of three late MSS. *abh. ab L. nomine*, where *nomen* is understood; cf. 21, 19, 9. Isidore Orig. 1, 30 attributes to the Africans a faulty use of the letter l = *lambdacismus*, which Hann. here inserted. Cf. Cic. Arch. 10, 26, on Cordova.

Casilinum (mod. Capoa Nuova), a Campanian town on right bank of Vulturnus, three miles from Capua. It was a strategical position commanding the chief bridge; cf. 15, 3; 23, 19, 1. Hannibal captured the town B.C. 216, but lost it two years later.

aversus, sc. Hannibal.

suo itin. 'his intended route', i.e. from Telesia (13, 1) to Casinum. Pol. and App. are silent respecting this incident, which is inherently improbable.

Allif. Calatinumque. I have retained reading of vulg. after P, though Madv.'s conj. *Callifanum Allifanumque* is plausible, Callifae and Allifae being close together. But as the route represented by text involves no contradiction, it seems safer to follow the MS.

Allifae (mod. Alife) was a town of Samnium on the Latin Way, famous for Fabius' victory over the Samnites B.C. 307; cf. 9, 42, m. Cf. 17, 7; 18, 5.

Calatia (mod. Caiazzo), a town in Samnium, north of the Vulturnus, not to be confounded with another of the same name, south of that river, in Campania. Cf. 61, 11; 9, 43, in. Kiepert reads *Caiatia*; so inscriptions and coins. Pol. 3, 92 states that Hann. marched from Samnium (ἐκ τῆς Σαννιτιδος) through the pass of the "Eribianian hill", encamping on the Vulturnus (Ὠλθυρνος).

pum Stellatam descendit. Ubi quum montibus 7
 fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset,
 vocatum ducem percontatur, ubi terrarum esset.
 Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, 8
 tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe
 inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad 9
 reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris
 communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum
 Falernum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas 10

Calenum. Cales (mod. Calvi) was a town of Campania, belonging to the Ausones 8, 16, in., celebrated for the quality of its wine, like the neighbouring Falernian territory. Cf. Hor. O. 1, 20, 9; Athen. 1, 27 ὁ Καληνός (οἶνος) κούφος, τοῦ Φαλερίνου εὐστομαχώτερος. Cf. infr. 9; 15, 3 and 10.

Stellatam: the plain, or district, of Stella lay apparently between Casilinum and Sinuessa, in North Campania, south of Cales and the Falernian district; cf. § 9; 9, 44, 5.

7. *montibus*, i.e. *Mons Calli-cula*, between Cales and Casilinum (15, 3; 16, 5), Massicus (mod. Massico), near Sinuessa (14, 1), and the volcanic hills, now called Rocca Monfina, Montagna di Santa Croce, and La Cortinella.

fluminibus, i.e. Vulturnus (mod. Voltorno), and Savo (mod. Savone).

circumspexisset, 'looked round upon', cf. 21, 28, 11; Cic. Mil. 35, 95. It usually = 'to look round anxiously for' something, cf. 15, 2; so the intensive form 29, 3; 21, 39, 5; ib. 53, 11.

ubi terrarum esset, 'where in the world he was', gen. loci; cf. Madv. 284, 10; Rob. 1294. So Sall. I. 54, 2; Cic. Att. 5, 10, 4.

The gen. is also used with the pronominal advs. *ubinam*, *ubicunque*, *ibidem*, &c. Cf. Soph. Aj. 984 ποῦ...γῆς κυρεῖ; Madv. G. S. 50, b.

8. *Casilini*. Cf. 15, 3.

mansurum, 'spend the night', 'lodge': for *maneo* = *pernocto* Fab. and H. compare 23, 6, 7; Hor. O. 1, 1, 25; and *mansio* = night-quarters (hence Fr. *maison*, Eng. *mansion*; cf. *μονή* S. John 14, 2). This use is common in the colloquial language of Cic.'s Epistles;—e.g. cf. Att. 7, 21.

et, sc. cognitum est, from preceding.

9. *ad rel. terrorem*: these words are repeated in 24, 35, 2. As §§ 5 and 6 mention only one guide, we must suppose that the crucifixion was intended as a deterrent to those whom he should afterwards select, but Plut. Fab. 6 speaks of more than one—*τοὺς ὁδηγοὺς*.

in crucem s.: *crucifigo* is rare in classical Latin. Cf. Quint. 7, 1, 30; for other phrases cf. Tac. A. 15, 44; Hor. S. 1, 3, 82. Plut. l.c. has *ἀνασταυρώω*.

Falernum. The territory of Falernum, which had now been Roman for 123 years, lay between Teanum, M. Massicus, Sinuessa and the Vulturnus, and was one of the most excellent vine dis-

- 11 Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrant, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

XIV. *The Roman soldiers, irritated by Hannibal's ravages in Campania, are stirred up against Fabius by Minucius.*

- 1 Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra

tricts in Italy, especially the portion called *Faustianus Ager*. The richest vine district now is further south, between Aversa and Naples. Cf. *infr.* 15, 3—4; *Virg. G.* 2, 96; *Hor. O.* 1, 20, 10. The Falernian wine consisted of two sorts, one dry (*αὐστηρός*), the other sweet (*γλυκάζων*), cf. *Athen.* 1, 26.

dimisit, cf. 21, 54, 4. *Plut.* however represents Fabius as attacking Hannibal.

10. *aquas S.* 'the baths of Sinuessa'. This town (mod. Mondragone) derived its name from the gulf, *Sinus Caietanus*, on which it stood; cf. 14, 3. A Roman colony was planted here B.C. 296. It was here that Horace had an interview with *Virg.*, cf. *S.* 1, 5, 40. At a short distance from the town were the celebrated warm baths, which like Baiae, Aenaria &c. attracted visitors from Rome; cf. *Tac. A.* 12, 66. They still exist under the name of *I Bagni*. On the medicinal springs of Campania and Etruria, cf. *Mart.* 6, 42; *Beck. Gallus*, 90. See also *Forsyth's Cic.* 466.

populatio represents the action of *praedatum*, as *praedatio*,

though found in *Tac.*, does not occur in *Liv.* or other classical writers. Cf. 14, 2.

11. *fide*, 'loyalty'; so *infra. videlicet*, 'evidently'. Cf. 50, 5; 21, 63, 10.

imperio: for the thoroughly Roman sentiment, cf. *L.* 26, 24. The so-called 'just and moderate rule' did not prevent Capua from shaking it off, when it got the opportunity. Cf. *L.* 23, 2—10. In like manner Rome's harsh treatment of her "allies" led to the Social War B.C. 90, "the struggle of the Sabellian ox against the Roman she-wolf", which Momms. compares to the revolt of the American colonies against the British empire. Cf. 21, 60, 3; 41, 6, f.

1. *postquam* *Alsch.*, *quam P.* with two of the best MSS.: the emend. *quum* had occurred to me, in which I find that I have been anticipated by *Gron.*; it might be defended by *Caes. G.* 6, 12 *quum C. venit* (perf.), *principes erant*: vulg. with late MSS. omits it altogether.

Vulturnum (Gr. Οὐολτοῦρνος, cf. 13, 6; mod. Voltorno). This river, the largest in Campania, noted for its deep and rapid

sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, 2 quum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis 3 ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "Spectatum huc" inquit Minucius, 4

current (hence Claudian calls it *rapax*, Sil. It. *fluctu sonorus*, Lucan, *celer*; for its sandy beach cf. Ov. M. 15, 714), flows between Casilinum and Capua; the latter is now approached by a bridge rebuilt by Frederic II. For the wind so named cf. 43, 10.

castra, viz. Hannibal's.

exurebatur, 'was being wasted by fire'; note imperf. as in 40, 8; 21, 28, 4.

amoenissimus, 'fairest', cf. 15, 2: this word refers to the objective beauty and picturesqueness of the country. Cf. Doederlein quoted by Orell. on Hor. Ep. 1, 16, 15.

iuga Massici, cf. 13, 7. These ridges are now severally called Monte Massico, M. della Breccia, and Rocca di Mondragone, and the Massican range formed the boundary between Campania and Latium. The celebrated Massic wine was probably only a variety of the Falernian, which came chiefly from Faustianum (mod. Falciano).

de integro, alluding to Minucius' previous seditious language in 12, 12. Fab. prefers to connect *prope* with *seditio*. For the subject-matter cf. 40, 2; 42, 4.

seditio accensa; *quieverant* &c. J. Lips. and Gron.: P and nearly

all MSS. read *seditio ac de seditione accensi quidam fuerant* (the copyist having carelessly repeated the prep. and the noun). For the verb cf. 21, 58, 6; ib. 59, 8. Vulg. with old edd. reads *de integro est orta seditio ac duces seditionis accensi quidam. Fuerat enim silentium per* &c. (for the *accensi* cf. L. 8, 8). Rup. after Doer. reads *ab duce seditionis... accensa*, alluding to Minucius.

2. *quieverant*=*quieti fuerant* (which Lips. here prefers to read), cf. 40, 36, in. The MS. reading however *quidam fuerant* may be right, and if we simply alter *quia* into *qui*, the passage presents no difficulty.

cel. solito, cf. 2, 2. Fabius' actual intention was to guard the passes leading from Campania towards Rome.

ad prohibendam &c. 'to preserve C. from devastation': this Hypallage again occurs 25, 15, in.; cf. Caes. B. G. 1, 15; L. 1, 49, 1: for abl. cf. Adv. 261; Rob. 1262.

3. *Ut vero*. Cf. sup. 1; 21, 7, 10. *extrema*, i.e. the western extremity facing the sea.

ventum, sc. *est*: for the imperf. following this impersonal cf. 44, 1.

4. *Spectatum huc* M (second

- “ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos
 5 patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc pro-
 6 gressus? Tantum, pro, degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, praeter quam oram illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam
 7 factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari

hand) and late MS., *est hoc P*, vulg. *spectatumne huc*. Müller conjectures that *est* belonged to *ventum*, and was misplaced in text. *Spectatum* is used absolutely = to play the part of spectators (cf. *spectatores belli* 35, 48, f.). Cf. Plut. 5 ὡς καὶ θέατρα τοῦ δικτάτορος. See § 8.

inquit M. The proper noun regularly follows this verb, cf. 21, 3, 4; 54, 3; for his audience cf. § 15.

ad rem P, ut Gron., ut *ad* Madv.

caedes—but cf. 13, 10, where it is stated that the inhabitants fled.

nec...pudet, ‘and, if nothing else inspires us with shame, do we not feel ashamed even in presence of these our fellow-citizens?’ For a similar use of ἀισχύνομαι, cf. Xen. An. 2, 3, 22. Cf. 21, 13, 3; for gen. cf. 3, 19, 7; Ter. Hec. 5, 2, 27 (Parry’s note); Rob. 1328. *colonos*. Cf. 13, 10.

5. *patres*, more correctly *maiores*, as nearly 80 years had intervened; cf. 10, 21, 8.

Samnite adj. (cf. infr. 12), though subj. in next sentence.

advena adj. Cf. 21, 30, 8; see Plaut. Aul. 3, 1, 1.

extremis may refer to march from Gades 21, 21, 9; Hor. O. 2, 2, 9.

cunctatione, a hit at Fabius; cf. § 10.

6. *pro*, ‘alas!’ for this absolute use cf. Ov. M. 13, 758; ib. Her. 3, 98; it is usually followed by nom., gen., or acc., cf. Madv. 236, 1: vulg., after several MSS., here gives the unclassical *pro dolor!* Cf. Nägelsb. 274.

oram illi ed. 1531: *per o. i. suam* P and other MSS.: the error *per ... suam* is probably due to scribe reading *praeterquam*, as in some MSS. we find *praeterquam quod*. Weiss. reads *nuper*, omitting *suam*. For the assertion cf. 21, 10, 8; Philinus ap. Pol. 3, 26, where his statement respecting a treaty is confuted. *vagari* = ‘to cruise’. *eam*: vulg. with some MSS. adds *nos*.

Numidarumque, cf. 21, 22, 3; infr. 25, 7. Crevier puts comma after *hostium*, making *Numidarumque* &c. depend on *factam* = ‘in the hands of’, like *esset* § 9, which seems better than to join *plenam factam*, on account of *nunc...iam*.

videamus, ‘look at with in-

indignando non homines tantum, sed foedera et deos
ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae
Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis 8
villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit;
strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum,
saepius nostram quam deorum invocantium opem;
nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque
calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque.
Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. 9
Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic

difference'; cf. 6, 18, 4, in same sense as *lenti spectamus* (παθόμενος ὁρῶμεν Ael. V. H. 1, 30), § 7.

7. *modo*, 'a short time ago', i.e. two years; cf. 21, 16, 2; infr. 13. See § 8.

indignando = *indignantes*, cf. 21, 43, 8; for Livy's use of abl. of gerund = abl. of manner, cf. Rob. 1385.

sed, for omission of *etiam* in second member cf. 9, 3.

ciebamus, 'we appealed to': the thought and expression are found in 5, 14, 2, and Iuv. 13, 31.

scandentem—vulg. *tendentem ad*; but cf. 3, 67, f.; 45, 39, 2.

coloniae, i.e. Sinuessa § 4.

lenti ed. 1518; *laeti* P and most MSS.: the latter, which some editors prefer, may be defended by reference to *fruentam* § 4; but for text cf. Cic. Att. 1, 18, 4; Ov. A. 3, 6, 60.

8. *oculos* &c. Liv. usually places *ora* first; cf. 5, 4; 5, 42, m.

nos: Madv. reads *nostram*.

nos hic, 'while we' &c.: note *Asyndeton adversativum*, cf. 27, 9; vulg. wrongly places full stop after *opem*.

pecorum modo, these words belong to *exercitum*; cf. 21, 30, 8. This comparison is found also in Sall. C. 58, f.

aestivos saltus, 'summer-pastures', i.e. pastures among the woods on the mountains where the flocks and herds fed in summer.

calles: *callis* is usually masc.; but in Liv. always fem. in best MSS., cf. 31, 42, f. (where vulg. wrongly makes it masc.); 36, 15, f.; but Nonius 197 only says that Liv. frequently makes it fem.: he quotes this passage thus *nisi pecorum modo per angustos saltus et devias calles*. Cf. 15, 10.

ducimus, the words are addressed to the officers, § 15.

nubibus, because they marched on the mountain summits. Cf. 30, 10. Pol, 3, 92, 4 does not represent Minucius, but the chief officers in general, as maintaining that they should *συνδραμεν εἰς τὰ πῆδια καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην χώραν δηνουμένην*.

9. *M. Furius*, sc. Camillus. Liv. sometimes suppresses his *agnomen* (cf. 6, 1, m.), sometimes retains it alone (cf. 6, 2, m.): in correct Latininity he would be called M. Furius, or M. Camillus, but not Furius Camillus. The surname, derived probably from the Etruscan or Phoenician, signified 'a priest's attendant',

- novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare
 10 parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis toties ser-
 11 vaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussu-
 que populi dictum Veios allatum est, quum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et

com-
sive

like the Greek κάδωλος. For the defeat of the Gauls B.C. 390 cf. 5, 49, m. The history of Camillus forms an important section of Livy's 5th and 6th bks., while his death is related in bk. 7, 1.

quo, sc. modo, abl. of manner.

novus = a second deliverer; this is explained by the following sentence: Camillus was five times dictator. Cf. Cic. Phil. 13, 25; ib. Verr. 5, 12, f. iste Hannibal.

nobis = a nobis (the people elected the dictator, cf. 8, 6), but also implying 'for our advantage': for dat. of agent after quaero cf. 27, 3; Tac. A. 13, 42, f. So Hor. Ep. 1, 19, 3. Bauer not so well removes comma from Camillus, making nobis = dat. com. after recuperare.

unicus, 'unique', 'admirable', ironical; so 27, 3: there is probably intended at the same time a contrast to the two consuls. Liv. is fond of this word, as in 1, 21, 2; 21, 11, 12. Cf. Catull. 29, 12 Imperator unice (with note of Naudet).

in r. affectis, 'in our distress', so 6, 3, m.; cf. sup. 8, 3; also use of conficio 2, 7.

10. Hannibali &c. Cf. 21, 40, 9; infr. 30, 8: Fab. notices this use of the conjunction connecting the name of the general

with that of his troops appended, cf. 49, 13.

servaverint = fut. perf. subj. Cf. 21, 33, 9; L. 44, 22; Madv. 379.

11. vir, 'like a man'; cf. 7, 13, 9 viris ac Romanis dignum: for this use of Romanus cf. Nägelsb. 88.

ex auctoritate, cf. 21, 18, 10—

11. For the statement cf. 5, 46, 10, where, however, we learn that Camillus was at Ardea when the messengers came, and that thence they conducted him to Veii: cf. 3, 10.

allatum late MSS., P and two of best MSS. allatus: several late MSS. adopt this reading and insert nuntius or rumor to make it grammatical: for text cf. 54, 7.

satis altum, &c., 'high enough for him to sit there and look at' &c. The Janiculum was the loftiest hill of Rome which C. could ascend on his way from Veii, as it lay on the Etruscan side of the Tiber. It was fortified by Ancus, cf. 1, 33, 6; see also L. 2, 10 and 51; L. 40, 29: for sedens cf. 3, 10; 24, 10; 39, 16.

descendit, i.e. unlike Fabius.

qua late MSS., q. P, que C, quae M.

busta G., 'the Gallic tombs' derived their names from the Gauls, whose bodies were there

postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones.

mon Quid? post multos annos quum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus

burnt, on the occasion of a plague, 5, 48, 3: Varro L. L. 5, 157 says the place *Ad busta Gallica* was so called because the bones of the Gauls, who had captured Rome, were collected there. Some suppose that it was near the Cloaca Maxima. Cobet regards these words as a gloss.

Gabios: Gabii (mod. Castiglione) was a town of Latium, midway between Rome and Praeneste. The name is said to be abbreviated from the compound Galatus + Bius, the reputed founders. For the celebrated story of its capture by the stratagem of Sextus cf. L. 1, 53 and 54; also Herod. 3, 154, which probably suggested the idea to Livy. For allusion in text cf. 5, 49, m. Cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 11, 7; Virg. A. 7, 682. (Of the temple here described there are still interesting ruins.)

12. *Furculas C.* Much doubt exists as to the exact position of the 'Caudine Forks of Samnium', which are only mentioned in connection with the disaster of B.C. 321; L. 9, 2—6. Niebuhr accepts the tradition which points to the valley between Arienzo and Arpaija, still called Valle Caudina, close to which is the village Forchia = Furculae, called in the middle ages La Furcula Caudina; cf. Nieb. 3, 214. Some archaeologists think that the valley between Sant' Agata de' Goti and Moiano,

i.e. between Caudium and Calatia in Samnium, best answers the description of Livy. Cf. Momms. 1, 376 (n.); Arn. 2, 218. Such also is the view of Murray, who discusses the arguments on either side. As to the name Bunbury, Dict. Geog., makes the strange statement that *Furculae* is "the only form found in prose-writers", whereas Val. Max. 5, 1, 5 and 7, 2, 17 cites the form *Furcae*; so Luc. 2, 138, and the scholia, one of which claims *S. Maria in iugo citra Arpaium* as the scene, while another describes *Furcae* as *civitas in Apulia*. Cf. Sil. 8, 567.

sumus, note change of subject from § 8.

tandem, 'pray', cf. 5, 6, m.; Rob. 1610.

Cursor. The blockade of Luceria took place B.C. 320, under the command of Pap. Cursor, consul that year; cf. 9, 13, m.; ib. 15, in. He derived his surname from his *swiftness*, according to Aur. Vict., and was courteous as well as witty; cf. L. 9, 16; Eutrop. 2, 9; for his soldier-like qualities cf. Momms. 1, 378. Arn. 2, 226 compares him to Richard Cœur de Lion.

Luceriam. Cf. 9, 5.

premo = *obsidione* p. 1, 57, 3, 'by assailing'; cf. 9, 15, in. *omnibusne copiis Luceriam premerent*.

lacessendo. Cf. 21, 11, 5; 29, 34, in.

- 13 iugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento
 14 atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congrediariis.

13. *Modo*, 'a few years ago', i.e. 24 years, alluding to the victory of the Aegates B.C. 241, cf. 21, 10, 7: this was but 'a little while ago', relatively to the events mentioned in § 9 and § 12: cf. § 7. Compare Sen. Ep. 49 *modo apud Sotionem... puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi, modo desii velle agere, modo desii posse*; and Cic. Verr. 4, 3, 6, where it is distinguished from *nuper* and *paulo ante*.

postero &c., 'the day after he saw'; for this use of *quam* cf. Cic. Or. 2, 3; also Sall. I. 102 *post diem quintum quam* &c. Cf. use of *pridie*.

gravem=onustam; Doer. wrongly explains it 'suffering from want of supplies', comparing 7, 37, m.; but though there *multitudo commeatibus gravis* = 'a multitude too great for the supplies at hand', there would be no force in the expression here; whereas the other explanation agrees with the account of Catulus' victory given by Pol. 1, 60 and 61.

suomet ipsam. Cf. 21, 38, 3.

instrumento &c., 'stores and war-material', cf. Cic. Acad. 2, 1, 3 *totiusque belli instrumento et apparatu*; see infr. 19, 10; 21, 49, 8; 30, 10, in. Ch. and B. translate *instrumento* by 'tackling'; but the regular word for that is *armamenta* (for which Virg. A. 5, 15 has *arma*). Cf. 26, 39, sub in.

oppressit, 'he surprised and

destroyed'; for this pregnant sense of the verb cf. 30, 10, in.; 41, 3, m.; also infr. 19, 6; 49, 12; 21, 39, 5, where the first meaning prevails: the object of the verb is of course *classem*, though Rup. makes it *Poenos* understood, so that *classem* would stand in apposition to *hostem*.

14. *Stultitia est*; for the construction cf. 21, 19, 9; Plaut. Cas. 2, 4, 4 *stultitia est te esse tristem*. Nägelsb. 486 cites several instances of this predicative nominative.

sedendo aut votis; for the combination of gerund and subst. cf. 21, 35, 5. Varro R. R. 1, 2, 2 mentions an old saying *Romanus sedendo vincit*, which Liv. may have had in mind: for *sedeo* cf. 3, 10.

votis: cf. § 8, and the similar remark of Flaminius 5, 2. The allusion is to the vows mentioned 10, 8 &c.

debellari, 'that the war can be brought to an end'; this is a very favourite verb with Liv. Cf. 12, 4; L. 31, 48 and Drak.'s note: see also 21, 40, 11 *profligare*. Note hexameter formed by the conclusion of the sentence.

Arma Madv., armar. P; so vulg., reading *copias*: but as the troops were already armed, such an assertion would be absurd.

et descendas Heerw., deducendas P; so vulg., reading *ut* contrary to the best MSS. For the

Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant." Haec 15
velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribu-
norum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad
aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur;
ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant,
Minucium Fabio duci praelaturos.

XV. *Fabius persists in his policy of delay. Mancinus is defeated and slain. Fabius and Minucius unite their forces near Tarracina.*

Fabius pariter inter suos haud minus quam in 1

common omission of the pronoun before *vir*, cf. 6, 6, s. f. *collegae facimus*.

Audendo &c.: for a similar collocation cf. 53, 7: see also 21, 4, 4.

res = respublica.

his segnibus late MSS., *iis sensibus* P: Weiss. suggests *istis*.

cauta; we find this and the two preceding adjs. conjoined in 12, 12.

15. *contionanti* (P has *continuanti*); cf. 21, 53, 6; 1, 28, 2: *contio*, not *concio*, is the spelling of good MSS. and inscriptions; but *dicio*, *condicio*, while the best MSS. vary between *suspicio* and *suspitio*, *convicium* and *convitium*, the interchange being due to assimilation, like Gk. *ῥάσω* and *ῥάρω* &c. Cf. Corss. 1, 49 sqq.

equitum, 'Knights', in the technical sense, not simply cavalry. Cf. 21, 59, 9.

quoque belongs to *militum*, contrary to the rule that it should stand directly after the word to which it belongs. Madv. 471; but cf. 28, 39, in.

militum. Cf. 8, 6, f.

olvebantur (P and two of the best MSS., vulg. *olvebantur*), 'found their way to', 'reached',

the prep. implying that his observations passed out beyond the circle of the officers surrounding Minucius, viz. to the private soldiers.

militaris suffragii, as in the case of Hannibal 21, 3, 1; cf. 3, 51, m. For *res* with gen. cf. 53, 6.

haud dubie &c., 'they plainly declared'. Cf. 29, 6; 21, 41, 7; 4, 45, f. Weiss. not so well connects these words with the participle.

duci P: Gron. reads *ducem*, so vulg.; cf. 28, 41, in. *Hamilcar Hannibali dux est praeferendus*.

praelaturos, for omission of *se* and *esse* cf. 6, 11; 51, 2; Krüger L. G. 570, 4, c.; Madv. 401.

1. *Fabius pariter &c.* 'F., while at the same time keeping an eye upon his own men no less than upon the enemy, proved to the former that they could not shake his resolution'; for the temporal use of *pariter* cf. 4, 6; 10, 5, 7: Fab. takes *pariter* as modal = 'alike', connecting it with *intentus*, the words preceding being epexegetical. Cf. 23, 3: Sall. I. 88, 2 quoted by the commentators is equally ambiguous. Various needless conjectures have

- hostes intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quanquam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consilio-
 2 rum aestatis reliquum extrahit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis
 3 fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam

been proposed—*per iter, acriter, pari tenore*, that of Harant—*patientens* being the least plausible: Rup. regards it as a gloss. The modal sense derives support from 23, 28, 3 *iuxta intentus*.

inter s. P (so Hwg.), in s. ed. 1505; so Madv. and recent edd., on account of *in hostes*; but for change of prep. cf. 2, 46, in. *pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios venerat*.

illis ed. 1573, *aliis* P; cf. 26, 7: Gron. conj. *utrisque*, Ruben. *a fabulis*: for this trait in the general's character cf. 12, 6.

infamem, 'made him unpopular'—it earned for him the nickname of 'Hannibal's pedagogue'. Cf. Diod. 26, 3.

obstinatus &c., 'he spent the remainder of the summer firmly adhering to the same plan of operations'.

2. *aestatis* late MSS., *aestimantis* P: for the partitive gen. cf. 59, 4: for *extraho*=*protraho*, *produco* cf. 18, 9; 32, 9, f.

ut=ita ut (43, 4); cf. 45, 4.

destitutus ab spe, 'deprived of the hope of a battle' (lit. 'abandoned by', cf. 1, 41, 1). Cf. 40, 47, f.

summa ope p. Alsch., s. *oppetiti* P, and two of the best MSS.: vulg. after Gron. *summopere*; but cf. 24, 4, 3; Sall. C. 1, 1; cf. also ib. 1. 14; L. 8, 16, in.

ea regio &c., 'that country furnished only a temporary supply, not for the entire year': this was mainly due to the Carthaginian devastations. Cf. 14, 1: for *erat* cf. 21, 60, 8: for *circumspectaret* cf. 13, 7.

arbusta, in apposition to *regio*, instead of *ibi enim arbusta erant* &c. *Arbusta* were especially the trees on which vines were trained, differing from the espaliers which one usually sees in Italy.

consita &c., 'fruit growing everywhere, which was rather pleasant to the sight than necessary as food', i.e. fruit-trees were more abundant than grain: for *amoenus* cf. 14, 1.

3. *Haec*, i.e. Hannibal's movements and probable intentions.

satis=*probe* § 1; cf. 22, 9; 21, 26, 4.

angustias, nearly=*saltus*, with which it is combined 28, 1, m., or *fauces* 29, 32, 4 (Pol. 3, 92 δεικνολή). For statement cf. 13, 6. *rediturum*, the subject is Han-

montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit et per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine

nibal: for omission of pron. and esse cf. 21, 18, 14.

Calliculam ed. 1535, *gallicanum* P. This mountain is only mentioned here and 16, 5. It may perhaps be identified, as some think, with the range of hills called Piopitella, stretching from Cales to the Vulturno, as Hann. passed through to Allifae 17, 7. It appears to have belonged to the same range as Mt Tifata. Pol. 3, 94 calls the mountain 'Επιβαρύς, if the text be right.

Casilinum, cf. 13, 6. Hann. was thus cut off from Campania as well as from Rome, § 11.

modicis, cf. 21, 61, 4; Pol. 3, 92 makes the force consist of 4000 men.

4. *dirempta*, the river ran through the midst of the town; cf. 23, 17, 10 *partem urbis, quae cis Vulturnum est* (eo enim dividitur amni), *occupavere*; ib. 19, m. For the verb cf. 42, 39, 4 *dirimente* amne.

Falernum a Campano late MSS., *falernum a campanum* P; vulg. after Gron. *F. ac C. agros*; but other instances prove that when two or more adjs. in sing. belong to a noun in plur. the latter comes first, cf. 24, 20, f. *ex agris Meta-pontino atque Heracleensi*; where-

as, if the noun follows, it agrees with the final adj. in sing.; cf. 25, 7: an exception to this is found in proper names, like 34, 1, m. *M. et P. Junii Bruti*. The Falernian district is here treated as distinct from Campania, though elsewhere the latter includes the former. Cf. 8, 11, 13. *iugis iisdem*, i.e. the ridges overhanging the Falernian plain. Cf. 14, 3.

reducit, probably in the direction of Massicus, cf. § 10.

Mancino. This officer's defeat in the cavalry skirmish which follows is not recorded by Polybius.

5. *ex turba*, 'being one of the crowd'; note brevity for *quum esset ex t.*, cf. 60, 5.

progressus, cf. § 6.

ubi late MSS., *urbis* P.

vidit: it is clear that some such verb is wanting for the sake of grammar; but Wfl. objects to this, which is found in vulg., as disagreeably rhyming with *occidit*: H. J. Müller reads *prospexit ac*; so Luterb.: cf. 21, 49, 8: *prospectavit* would equally imply the distant view of the foe which Mancinus obtained—cf. 14, 11: *et* is due to Madv.

6. *occupatus*, 'his mind was engrossed with the idea of an engagement'. Cf. 48, 4.

est animus, excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese
 7 iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum
 8 atque hominum pertrahere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, quum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit,
 10 omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

exciderunt, 'were forgotten'; the full phrase *exciderat ex animis* occurs in 34, 37, m.

quantum (quem P), sc. *progredi*.

7. *Numidae &c.* 'The Numidians, at one time attacking, at another retreating': for the epexegetical use of *alii* cf. *alter* 21, 15, 4. See 16, 3.

ipsa eum Weiss., *ipsum P*, so vulg.; but cf. 45, 3.

pertrahere (join *ad castra*) *P*, vulg. after late MSS. *pertraxere*, so *Madv.* and most modern edd.; but cf. 21, 54, 4.

8. *Carthalo*. Cf. 49, 13; 58, 3; 25, 17, f.

concitatis &c., 'charged at full gallop'.

ad coniectum t., 'within javelin throw', 'within range'; for this collective use of *teli* cf. 29, 4; but the plur. is used when the missiles have been actually thrown; cf. 38, 27, in. So in *Xen. Cyr.* 1, 4, 23 *ἐς τόξον ἀφικνωτο*: cf. use of *extra ictum*

in *Seneca, Ben.* 1, 7.

avertisset, sc. *in fugam*, cf. 19, 11; 26, 44, m.; so *converto* or *verto*, like *Gr. ὑπέκω*, *Xen. Anab.* 1, 8, 24.

milia, sc. *passuum*; for the ellipse cf. 21, 59, 1.

continenti c., 'without halting'; cf. 1, 29, 4; 24, 16, in.

9. *rediit*, with reference to *avertisset*; note a peculiar use of the verb 1, 27, 8, where it is used with regard to a battle not yet begun.

omni parte. For the inefficient state of the cavalry cf. § 7: for the expression cf. 19, 3; 21, 17, 8: the assertion is incorrect, as Mancinus has no infantry, cf. § 4.

10. *delecti eq.*, probably = his bodyguard of picked troopers; cf. 6, 2; for the gen. cf. 30, 2.

rursus. Voss brackets this; so *Wfl.* and *Müll.*; but it may be explained by *avertisset* § 8.

Cales. Cf. 13, 6.

72 *gsh*
 1148
 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, 11 missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus 12 dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde milia hostes aberant.

11. *saltum*, i.e. the pass of Lautulae (now Passodi Portella), between Tarracina and the sea. It was the scene of the mutiny B.C. 342 (7, 39, 7), and of the battle between the Romans and Samnites B.C. 315 (9, 23, in.). Lautulae (sc. *aquae*) derived its name from its warm baths, (like the Sicilian Thermae), which existed also at Tarracina, Mart. 5, 1, 6. N. Heinsius stated that he had in his possession silver *denarii* with the inscription *C. Vibius. C. F. Iovis. Axxr.*, which he makes = *ἀξυρος*. He supported the spelling by one MS. of Luc. 3, 84.

Tarracinam. Tarracina (mod. Terracina) was the Greek and Roman name for Anxur, a Volscian city of Latium, at the head of the bay between Circeii and Caieta. Strab. 5, 233 thinks that Tarracina = *Τραχυνή*, an appellation which was due to its rocky situation (cf. Hor. S. 1, 5, 26; also use of *αι Κρῆνα* in Aristoph. Av. 123). Cf. 4, 59, in. where the plur. is used *Anxur, quae nunc Terracinae sunt; urbs prona in paludes*, sc. *Pomptinas*. Its strategical position, as closing the Appian Way against an invader, was important.

in artas &c., 'contracted into a

narrow gorge'; cf. 28, 5, m. *angustae fauces coartant iter*; for this use of *cogere* cf. 9, 33, 4; see also 21, 26, 8.

ab Sinuessa, the acute conj. of I. F. Gron., for (*nae*) *adminuisse* P, *adminuessa* C, *adminuisse* M; cf. 14, 3: vulg. *immunito* (used hypothetically, i.e. 'if unguarded').

Appiae, sc. *viae*, cf. 1, 12; 9, 29, m.; for *limes* cf. 12, 2; Tac. H. 2, 42 *in aggere viae*.

agrum Romanum, i.e. the land in the vicinity of Rome, possibly including such portions of Latium as enjoyed the franchise: similarly we find *ager Nolanus, Picens, Sabinus* &c. Cf. 21, 62, 5.

12. *exercitibus*; P reads *exercitus*: here *coptis* would be more strictly correct, as the master of the horse had not yet obtained an army of his own; cf. 27, 10.

viam, i.e. the road to the pass over Mt Callicula, cf. § 3—4; 17, 7. Pol. 3, 92 states that Fab. placed 4000 men to guard the pass, while he with the main body occupied a hill to the right.

deferunt. Cf. 24, 2; 2, 7, f. *ducturus*. For this absolute use cf. 21, 22, 5. *milia*, cf. § 8.

XVI. *Carthaginian defeat. Hannibal is surrounded, but escapes by an ingenious stratagem.*

- 1 Postero die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra
 2 erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso
 constitissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, suc-
 cessit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad
 lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procur-
 3 sando recipiendoque sese pugnare; restitit suo
 loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris
 magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab
 Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.
 4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum

1. *quod viae...erat.* Cf. 4, 1. *bina.* For the distributive number qualifying a plur. noun denoting one object cf. Madv. 76, c. Cf. 21, 59, 2. Here *duo* would be wrong, as it would mean 'two forts'. Virg. Ec. 3, 30 uses *bini* = *duo*, though the noun *fetus* is used in the same signification in the sing.

2. *haud dubie*, so 24, 16, in.; infr. 28, 3.

aequiore l., 'on more favourable ground', i.e. ἐπὶ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, according to Pol. l. c. Cf. 25, 13, f.; Sil. 6, 105. In 2, 31, m. we have the opp. expression *loco iniquo*.

successit, 'advanced up the hill'; cf. § 6; 28, 12.

expeditis, sc. *iaculatoribus* (21, 46, 3) or *peditibus*, cf. 34, 26, in.; but ib. 28, 3 *cum equitibus atque expeditis*.

equitibusque P and two of the best MSS.: vulg. reads *equitibus*, atque ad &c., omitting stop after *hostem*: for *expeditus* applied to cavalry cf. 2, 4; 55, 4.

Carptim = *multifariam*, 'at different points', implying repeated attacks in detachments, like 44, 41, s. f. *carptim aggrediendo*; cf.

27, 48, in. *quum agmen carperent*, the metaphor being taken from carding wool, or from animals browsing.

Poeni P and best MSS.: vulg. with nearly all the late MSS. omits this (for change of number *Poenus...pugnare*, cf. 4, 2 *Hannibal...pervenerant*).

procursando, cf. 41, 1; 44, 4; 3, 61, f. *procursantes...recurrentesque*.

3. *restitit* &c., 'kept its ground', 'maintained its position'.

ex...voluntate, 'to the satisfaction of', to be distinguished from *voluntate* = 'with the consent of', 21, 2, 4.

ab Romanis, 'on the side of the R.'; cf. 21, 5, 9; 1, 32, 2; ib. 50, 9; 27, 14, in. *legio vicesima ab dextro cornu instructa*: Madv. 253, obs. Rob. 1813.

4. *Inclusus*, cf. C. Nep. Hann. 5 *Hic clausus locorum angustis*; App. H. 14 οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπὸ κρημνα: but this was not the fact, as the road from Suessula to Caudio still lay open. Pol. 3, 91.

via ad C., 'the road leading

obsessa, quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset; nec Hannibalem fefellit, suis se artibus peti. 5 Itaque quum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad 6

to C.; or *ad* may = 'at' (as in 7, 1), a garrison having been placed at C., 15, 3.

Capua et Samnium. Cf. 13, 1 and 3.

tantum d. s. = tot divites socii, cf. 3, 17, m. *tantum hostium... est: ab tergo* refers to the allies in Latium. Fabius destroyed all the crops, in order to reduce Hann., cf. 11, 4.

Poenus inter Formiana, emend. Sabellicus: *poenistus inter fortuna minas saxa* P (the first word seems due to a scribe, doubtful whether the termination should be *-is* or *-us*). A slight emendation would give a good meaning to our best MS., viz. *inter Fortunae minas et saxa* &c., alluding to the perilous position in which Hannibal now stood, such a poetical expression being quite in keeping with Livy's style. The vulg. without sufficient authority adds *contra* after *Poenus*.

Formiana. *Formiae* (mod. Mola di Gaëta) was a town of the Aurunci, in Latium, on the Appian Way, not far from Minturnae, situated on the *Sinus Caietanus*, and famous for its vines; cf. Hor. O. 1, 20, 11; ib. 3, 17. Pliny says that it was originally called *Hormiae*, from *ἡρμος* or *ἑρμῆ*. For Cicero's cele-

brated villa at this place cf. Forsyth's Life of Cic. p. 65.

Literni. *Liternum* (mod. village Patria) was a Campanian town, north of Cyme, cf. 23, 35, in. The name is sometimes wrongly spelt *Linternum*, cf. N. Heins. on Sil. 6, 654. This was the place which Scipio Africanus made famous by his voluntary exile B.C. 185; cf. 38, 52, in.

stagnaque. Cf. Sil. 8, 532 *stagnisque palustre Liternum.*

per horridas silvas Weiss., *perhorridas situas* P, vulg. *perhorrida situ*. (This compound adj. does not occur elsewhere). The allusion in text may be to the *Silva Gallinaria* (mod. Pineta di Castel Volturno), a forest extending from the Vulturnus, close to Cumae, infested by banditti. Strab. 5, 243 describes it as *θαμνώδης, ἀνυδρος καὶ ἀμυλώδης*; cf. Iuv. 3, 307.

5. *Hann. fefellit.* Cf. 24, 3; 28, 1; 21, 57, 3.

suis se artibus, cf. *vestra vos* 21, 13, 4; ib. 34, 1.

iugum...superandum. Cf. 15, 4; 21, 35, 1 and 4.

necubi = ne alicubi. Cf. 2, 3; 28, 8.

6. *ludibrium oculorum*, 'an optical illusion'; cf. 24, 44, m. *ludibria oculorum auriumque*, 'illusions of the eyes and ears'.

- frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis
 7 furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii
 talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris collectae
 fascisque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur-
 que cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque mul-
 8 tos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo
 milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium
 datum, ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum ac-

Liv. is fond of this noun in connection with a gen., cf. 30, 30, in. *ludibrium casus*, 'a ludicrous accident'.

terribile, cf. 17, 6. App. Hann. and Zonar. state that Hann. put his prisoners to death, to the number of 5000, lest they might escape in the confusion and join the enemy.

7. *consilii*. Hann. perhaps adopted this stratagem, as the Spaniards on a former occasion had practised it upon Hamilcar, which would doubtless have made an impression on Hannibal's mind; cf. App. Hisp. 5; Frontin. 2, 4, 17. Paus. 7, 26 relates the same stratagem in the case of Aegira.

Faces, 'torches collected from the surrounding villages' (*agris*); so Pol. App. Zonar. Polyæn. λαμπάδες, δῆδες: or 'torch-wood', i.e. pine or fir. Note the juxtaposition of *faces* and *fascis*.

aridi P and one of best MSS., *arida* vulg. after late MSS.

sarmenti one of best MSS., *sarmentis* P, *sarmenta* vulg. after late MSS. For *fascis sarmenti*, 'bundles of brushwood' or 'fagots', cf. Silius, who gives an account of this 7, 310 sqq., and likewise uses sing. l. 314 *sarmenti maniplos*: on the other hand Nep. Hann. 5 uses plur.; so Quint. 2, 17, 19; Front. 1, 5, 28 *fasciculos sarmentorum*; cf.

Liv. Epit. 22, 20; 6, 10, 4. *Sarmentum* here has its special meaning vine-branches (cf. Fr. *sarment*), Hann. being now in the great vine-district. Cf. Pol. 3, 93 and 94.

praeliganturque P and two of best MSS.: Madv. and Weiss. prefer with vulg. to strike out *que*; for the omission of *sunt* cf. 21, 25, 9; ib. 45, 8.

quos.....multos = undivided whole; cf. Curt. 4, 11, 11 *qui multi vincti...occuparent*; Cic. Balb. 27 *quos video...nonnullos*; Madv. 284, 7; Rob. 1295.

domitos &c., 'broken and unbroken', i.e. with reference to their use for the plough: Pol. describes the former as ἐργάται βοῦς: Nep. calls the latter *iuventi*.

8. *Ad duo*. Cf. 41, 2.

effecta, sc. *sunt*, 'were raised', 'collected together', cf. 57, 9.

Hasdrubali. Pol. 3, 93 calls him 'superintendent of the workmen'; hence his selection for the task.

primis tenebris noctis: Madv. and others accept conj. of Weiss. *nocte*: but as P and C have the two preceding words, while P reads *noctem*, C *nocte*, it is quite probable that Liv. used these words, notwithstanding repetition 17, 1, like that of *accensis cornibus*. Weiss. reads (*per*) *noctem*, cf. Quint. 2, 17, 19: Luterb.

censis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII. *Consternation of the Romans.*

[Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucētis flammæ ex capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imaque cornuum adveniēns velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibus-

adopts conj. of Tücking *prima* (nocte).

id armentum; but cf. 17, 2 and 4.

accensis cornibus. Hypallage for *acc. in corn. virgis*: Sil. 7, 333 uses a stronger expression, *latis accensa immittere silvis Armenta*, where N. Heins. proposes *sarmenta*; but cf. L. 2, 12, m. *accenso foculo*.

1. *Primis*. Pol. 3, 93 places it at a later hour, *ἔμα τῷ κλῖναι τὸ πρῶτον μέρος τῆς νυκτός*.

aliquanto. Cf. 21, 11, 6.

2. *viasque angustas*, cf. Pol. l. c. *πρὸς τὰ στενά*.

armenta, the *armentum* (16, 8) being subdivided. P adds the senseless words *aut id*.

in adversos &c., 'up the mountains', cf. 21, 31, 2: for the op. phrase cf. 21, 28, 7.

et...ipse, i.e. as well as their drivers.

ex capite: P reads *ex campiea-capite*: O *ex capite a capite*; perhaps Liv. wrote *ex capite et a capite*, unless we suppose one of these words a gloss which crept into the text.

ad vivum &c., 'approaching the quick at the root of the horns', *que* being epexegetical: for the substantival use of the neut. cf. 47, 3; Nägelsb. 74.

ad imaque old edd., P *diuati-maque* (*diu* is found in nearly all the MSS.). Doer. regards these words, 'to the roots of the horns', as a gloss: *que*, though appended to other monosyllabic preps. (Madv. 469, 2), is never attached to *ad*, for *adque regem* in Nep. Datam. (14) 7 is probably an error; cf. ib. Dion. (10) 4 *ad eumque*. Heerw. conj. *medullamque*.

cornuum adveniēns: P *cornuum aveniens*: Müll. Luterb. Madv. &c. adopt conj. of Luchs *cornua veniens*: we may then explain reading of P as due to *a* being written over final *-um*, and afterwards getting into text.

3. *repente*, adv. to be connected with *discursu*: for this attributive use of adv. cf. 21, 8, 5. The abl. of adj. *repens* is used by Lucr. 5, 400 in the form *repenti*.

que accensis, omnia circa virgulta ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim
 4 discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam
 5 boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo quum procul cernerent, veluti flammam spirantium
 6 miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque

ardere, i.e. by the oxen spreading the flames through the dry bushes in their flight; cf. Sil. 7, 351 sqq.: so Plut. 6, 6, and Zonar.; the former says πολλὴν τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς ἐφευγον, ἀνάπτουσαι (βόες); others make *virgulta* = *virgae* 16, 7: Madv. adopts conj. of Perizonius *visa* before *ardere*; cf. Curt. 3, 8, 18 *omniaque incendio ardere visa*.

capitumque irrita quassatio J. F. Gron., *captumque rita quassatio* P: other MSS. have a similar corruption, such as *captum querit aque ratio* &c.; cf. Sil. 7, 353 *quassantibus aegra Armentis capita*.

hominum; cf. Plut. Fab. 6 *αἱ φλόγες ἐπέκειαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερομένης λαμπάσι*: for *speciem* p. cf. 24, 12; 21, 2, 6.

4. *transitum*, cf. 21, 23, 1. Pol. 3, 92 is more satisfactory in his description, ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς διεκβολῆς περὶ τετρακισχιλίου ἐπέστησε, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἔχων τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τινα λόφον ὑπερδέξιον πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

praesidio &c., 'quitted their post', 'retired from their posi-

tion', cf. 21, 57, 8. The Romans fancied that the Carthaginians were trying to escape by the hills, as the pass was occupied. Cf. Arn. 3, 122. Liv. represents the Romans as making for the hills in a panic, whereas Pol. 3, 94 states that their object was to resist Hannibal, while forcing his way, as they supposed, in that direction.

Qua &c., 'hastening towards the heights, as their safest way, where the fewest flames were flashing': text is due to J. F. Gron.: P *quamnimdense*: cf. 31, 8, f. *minime multa stipendia*.

5. *cernerent*, the omission of the object is somewhat harsh, which might be avoided by removing comma and reading *spirantes* (cf. 21, 62, 5): for Livy's favourite use of the part. gen. plur. = an abstract noun, cf. 5, 4; Nägelsb. 102: for *miraculo attoniti* cf. 1, 47, 9.

6. *deinde...tum vero*, cf. 3, 66, f.; see 21, 54, 9.

tumultu Gron., *multo* P with two of best MSS.: one of these has correction *metu* (so vulg., reading *dum m. metu* with comma

armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal traducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

XVIII. *Success of Hannibal's Spanish cohort. Hannibal advances to Gereonium in Apulia. Fabius, recalled to Rome, leaves Minucius in command.*

Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale per-

after fugam): Tauchn. has bad reading cum multo maximoque strepitu: Harant retains multo, adding tumultu.

Levi....a....incurrere: note dat. instead of in with acc. (cf. § 4), a poetical construction common in Liv., cf. 28, 15, 3; infr. 5, 8; 21, 41, 5; Sall. I. 101. The verb is apparently in the perf. tense, cf. 1, 37, 3; Liv. sometimes uses the reduplication, cf. 27, 15, in. incucurrerunt.

nox &c., 'the night, in their equal alarm, kept them inactive until dawn, so that neither side began the battle'. The construction is awkward for utrosque ita tenuit ut neutri pugnam inciperent; cf. 22, 4; 21, 48, 8. For the prolepsis cf. 21, 33, 3.

Hannibal: for nom. inserted in abl. abs. sentence between noun and participle cf. 21, 31, 9; 48, 5; 1, 7, 11.

quibusdam...saltu hostium: for the synchysis cf. 21, 56, 8 (vulg.).

Allifano late MSS., albano P. Cf. 13, 6.

1. ceterum=sed. Cf. 21, 6, 1. insidias...ratus, cf. 17, 6; for the position of the verb and participle cf. 17, 4. Pol. 3, 94 applies to Fabius the words of Homer Od. 10, 232 and 258.

nocturno &c., 'in any case ('at all events') averse from a night engagement'; cf. 21, 29, 7; 48, 5; Rob. 2290, b.

munimentis, for abl. cf. 23, 44, 6; Cic. Fam. 12, 19.

2. interclusam &c., 'the light-armed Carthaginians cut off from the main body': note ambiguous use of the reflexive with Romani, the proper subject; cf. § 7; 12, 10; see also 39, 21.

aliquantum: with a comparative we usually find aliquanto, cf. 21, 11, 6; but see 1, 7, 9; Madv. 270, 1.

Hispanorum. Cf. 21, 57, 5. pervenisset, 'arrived', i.e. at the place to which they were

- 3 *venisset. Ea assuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior quum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae*
 4 *genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.*
 5 *Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque sal-*
 6 *tum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis*
 7 *ducebat, nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Pelignis*

sent, cf. 23, 19, m. This is reading of all MSS.: Madv. Müll. Wölfl. &c. accept conj. of Gron. *supervenisset*, cf. 28, 33, 5: Doujatius conj. *praevenisset*, i.e. arrived in time to prevent the overthrow of the Carthaginian light troops.

3. *assuetior*: the activity of the Spanish mountaineers has been alluded to likewise in 21, 57, 3.

ad concursandum, 'making attacks', 'skirmishing', cf. 21, 35, 2: the verb is especially applied to the Spanish mode of fighting. Cf. 28, 2, m.

campestrem, 'accustomed to the plains', like the Romans.

statariumque, 'stationary', i.e. trained to the tactics of the legion or Macedonian phalanx (cf. 9, 19, 8 *statarius uterque miles ordines servans*), not to the rapid movements of light-armed skirmishers, like the *velites*: so *stataria pugna* Ammian. 14, 2. So Polyb. distinguishes *συστάδην* from *σποράδην μάχεσθαι*. Cf. Plaut. Amph. 1, 1, 82 sqq.

pugnae &c., 'baffled by their mode of fighting': for the allu-

sion cf. 21, 50, 2; 27, 18, f.

4. *aliquot*, Pol. 3, 94 gives the number at 1000.

5. *super* &c., 'took up a position above A. where the ground was high and naturally strong'. Hann. was there, hence *quoque*, cf. 17, 7. Vulg. wrongly places comma after *Allifas*. It seems probable that Monte Cila was the hill occupied by Fabius. Cf. 2, 7, 6; Caes. B. G. 2, 29 *oppidum natura munitum*; op. infr. 7 *communiit*.

6. *Pelignos*, cf. 9, 5 (hence *rediit* infr.). In this district (part of mod. Abruzzo Ulteriore) the chief towns were Sulmo, the birthplace of Ovid, and Corfinium, selected as the capital of the allies in the Social War; cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 16 *Caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant, quod appellarent Italicam*; Liv. Epit. 72. *populabundus*; for similar adjs. cf. 21, 36, 1; ib. 53, 6.

iugis, abl. of way, cf. 12, 2; 21, 22, 5; 2, 50, f. *iugo circummissus*.

absistens, 'avoiding him', 'retiring', cf. 12, 8; 36, 45, in.: see also 21, 6, 8.

Poenus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa 8 Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope 9 aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab toties victore

7. *retroque...repetens*, for a similar tautology cf. 6, 7.

Gereonium (mod. Torre di Zappà), a town of Apulia (39, 16), though others say of the Frentani in Samnium, south of Larinum and 25 miles from Luceria, according to Pol. 3, 100, who calls it Γερούνιον, and states that it was captured by H. after a siege (cf. 23, 9). App. Hann. 15 calls it Γερουλαν. Vulg. reads *Geronium* without MS. authority: P has *gleronium* corrected by Alsch. after reading of P 32, 4 *gereonium*. Cf. 23, 9; 24, 5 and 10; 39, 16.

urbem, note omission of prep. *in*, as 21, 61, 6; cf. ib. 25, 13.

Larinate, Larinum (mod. Larino Vecchio) was a town of the Samnite Frentani, according to Ptol. 3, 1, 65, though Mela 2, 4, m. makes it a town of the Dauni in Apulia, while Caes. B. C. 1, 23 distinguishes it from both. Cf. 24, 1; 27, 43, s. f.

8. *sacrorum causa*: Fab. quotes Plut. Fab. 8 τῶν ἱερῶν καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς ᾧ μὴν ἐπὶ τινὰς θυσίας, and Pol. 3, 94, who uses nearly the same words. For the various religious ceremonies to be per-

formed by the dictator, cf. 7, 3, in.; 8, 18, f.; 9, 28, f.; 7, 28, f.; 8, 23, s. f. See Sil. 7, 381.

revocatus: the principal verb is *profectus* in § 10; cf. 21, 38, 5.

imperio...agens, a Zeugma; cf. 24, 32, 5 *imperio, minis, auctoritate, precibus agebant*. Cf. Nägelsb. 265.

confidat...censeret: for changes of tenses cf. 21, 30, 11; ib. 55, 4.

9. *extracta* &c., 'when the summer had been almost spent in baffling the enemy'. Cf. § 3; 39, 17. Sigonius prefers *exacta* of some MSS. as in 29, 7; but cf. 15, 1. P and most MSS. have text.

medicos, corr. Valla: *medico* P. Nägelsb. 594 thinks that only a comma should be placed after *hostis*, as the next sentence is so closely connected with it, implying *recordaretur* or the like; cf. Madv. on Cic. Fin. 1, 5, 14.

quiete (corr. Valla: *quippe* P), i.e. the repose given to the patient by the physician. Nägelsb. 341 takes it in negative sense = inactivity, the physician leaving nature to herself, comparing it with *quietura* (21, 10, 3) = undisputed.

hoste vinci desisse et ab continuis cladibus respirasse,—haec nequicquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

XIX. *Events in Spain B.C. 217 (19—22). Success of Cn. Scipio over Himilco's squadron near the Ebro.*

- 1 Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est.
- 2 Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit;
- 3 quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus configere, quacunque
- 4 parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio post-

10. *vinci desisse*, 'to be no longer conquered', cf. 34, 8; 32, 7, 6.

et (ab), late MSS.; *ab c. c. ac resperasse* P: Müll. after Luchs *desisse ac respirasse ab* &c. Heerw. conj. *acceptis* for *ac*, cf. 5, 11, f.; for *respirasse ab* 'to take breath ('breathe again') after', cf. 4, 25, f.; Cic. Harusp. 23.

haec, resumptive of the preceding sentences, like *hac* in 21, 6, 5: for the accus. cf. Madv. 228, c; Colum. 11, 2, in. *caeli varietatem praemonitus*.

1. *Principio*. The narrative now goes back to Spain 21, 61, 11, while we learn from *aestatis* that the occurrences were subsequent to Hannibal's march through northern Italy in the spring, cf. 1, 1.

2. *numerus*, i.e. 57, though 20 were not fully equipped; cf. 21, 22, 4; for *instructum* cf. ib. 50, 3 and 8; 23, 26, in. *classemque instrui pararique iubet*: see another use 12, 9; 45, 6.

3. *tradit*: vulg. *tradidit*, which harmonises better with the se-

quence of tenses; *atque* would account for the loss of final syllable.

Himilconi. Pol. 3, 95 states that the fleet was placed under the command of Hamilcar, possibly the general mentioned in 24, 49, in.

Carthagine, sc. *Nova*, cf. 21, 22, 5: for omission of prep. *a* cf. 23, 43, 6.

naves Rup.: *navibus* P, so vulg.; if the latter be retained it must be joined with *ducebat*, as H. led the land force; for the Zeugma cf. 21, 31, 11: the awkward construction, if used by Liv., may have arisen from his following his Greek authority too closely; cf. Pol. 3, 95 *ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ παρὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν*.

quacunque, i.e. whether by land or sea, cf. 21, 17, 8; ib. 41, 4; we should have expected *utracunque*.

4. *Scipio* P and most MSS.: vulg. after two late MSS. *Scipioni*; but cf. 25, 13; 61, 15;

quam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus; delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab 5 Tarracone die *ad* stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque 6 universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas

21, 18, 3. On the other hand we find the dat. instead of nom. at head of sentence 25, 9. For *movisse* cf. 1, 1.

idem c., sc. *ei*, 'formed the same resolution', i.e. to meet his foe by land or sea: for the gen. cf. 10, 34, in.; 25, 22, in.

ingentem properly qualifies *auxiliorum*; for Hypallage cf. 21, 10, 12; see ib. 61, 4.

ad naves, dependent on *delecto*, 'having embarked soldiers that had been selected for ship-service'; cf. Pol. 3, 95 λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ πεζικοῦ στρατεύματος τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους ἀνδρας πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβατικὴν χρῆσιν. Gron. and Drak. wrongly connect *milite ad naves* = marines, comparing 7, 5, f. *tribunos militum ad legiones*, and 34, 6, m. *servos ad remum*. I had conjectured the simple alteration of *ad* to *in*, before I found that this was justified by two late MSS. which read *ac in*; cf. 11, 9.

ire...pergit, cf. 21, 22, 9, and the Greek βῆ δ' ἐλθεῖν or ἐλάαν.

5. *Altero ab T.*, 'on the day after leaving T.'; so 21, 38, 1; cf. Pol. 3, 95 δευτεραίος ἐκ Ταρκώνος.

ad stationem 'to an anchorage': *ad* has been inserted (without the support of P or the best MSS.) for grammatical reasons: the omission of this prep. after *pervenio* 21, 26, 3, Ov. Met. 3, 462, or Claud. B. Get. 73, is not parallel.

Massiliensium; for their fidelity to Rome during this war cf. 21, 20, 7; ib. 25, 1; 26, 5; 26, 19, 13; Pol. 3, 95.

speculatoriae, sc. *naves*, 'vessels to reconnoitre', 'advice-boats': they had no beaks (as appears from 36, 42, 8; cf. ib. 41, f.) and probably no decks, cf. 31, 22, f. For the substantival use of the fem. adj. cf. 22, 2; 21, 17, 3; so *liburnica*, *biremis* &c.; cf. Rob. 1063. Pol. describes them as κατασκευόμεναι ναὺς ταχυπλοῦσαι, and ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμφθεῖσαι.

6. *universo*, &c., 'amidst the confusion of a general panic'; cf. 12, 10; 32, 2. Walch conj. *offuso*, which often occurs with *terror*; cf. 39, 15, in.; but all the MSS. have *effuso*, cf. 10, 28, in. Grumme conj. *incautosque*, *universos simul*, &c., see Jahn's Jahrb. 1871, H. 1.

Multas et...p., note Graecism,

- turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et pro-
- 7 pugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo
 conspectis hostium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam
 ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu
 remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut ape-
- 8 rientibus classem promuntoriis, quum repente eques
 alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in
 litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam
 hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes, conscendere
 naves prope atque arma capere iubet: classem
- 9 Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. Haec equites
 dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse
 cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu
 strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militi-
 busque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam
- 10 euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum
 alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid

common after *multus*; cf. Hor. S. 2, 3, 9; Sall. I. 62, 9; Plat. Rep. 493 c; but cf. Cic. Fam. 5, 17.

turres. Plin. N. H. 35, 169 refers to the existence in his own time of 'Hannibal's watch-towers' in Spain and in Africa, 2, 181. Cf. 21, 49, 10.

7. *ad mare*, &c., cf. 21, 32, 2. *exaudito*, 'heard', i.e. from a distance, cf. 5, 52, 11.

nondum...aperientibus, &c. 'the projecting cliffs hid the fleet from view'; cf. 6, 9; Virg. A. 3, 206: for *aut* after a negative cf. 20, 2; 21, 17, 8.

8. *alius super alium*. Cf. 21, 35, 12. Cf. use of ἄλλος, Plat. Rep. 369 b.

nihil minus quam, 'anything rather than': this phrase is common in Livy, cf. 8, 11, m. *nihil...minus quam proelium expectantes*; 33, 7, m.

procul portu. Cf. 21, 7, 6; in

classical prose before Livy *ab* is regularly used after *procul*, which is occasionally found in Livy also; cf. 25, 5; 21, 21, 11; Hor. Epod. 2, 1 uses simple abl.; cf. Madv. 172, 3.

esse depends on a verb *dicendi* involved in *iubet*, cf. 1, 5; 8, 4.

9. *equites d. p.*, so 21, 61, 2; for *passim* = 'in every direction', cf. § 12; 12, 8; 21, 7, 4, where it = *longe lateque*.

mox...ipse...aderat, so 21, 28, 3.

e terra old edd.: *eterrarum* P. *modo*, cf. 14, 8; 21, 30, 8.

10. *conscenderant*. Cf. 21, 49, 8.

alii resolutis, &c. 'some having unfastened the hawsers, drift towards the anchors', intending to raise them. The *orae* were the cables thrown from the stern, attaching the ship to the land = *retinacula* (21, 28, 7), while the *ancoralia* were the cables con-

teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia *ac* praepropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non ap- 11 propinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, et temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem, ~~et~~ 12 quum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes ad

necting the prow with the anchor; cf. 28, 36, 11; L. 37, 30; Virg. A. 3, 277. Cf. use of *πρὸς πρῶτον* and *ἀνὰ πρῶτον*. Benoist reads *ancoris*, i.e. 'while still riding at anchor (forgetting to raise them) they try to get out of the harbour': but there is no need to change the MS. reading; P reads *hanchoras*.

evehuntur Gron., *eveherentur* P and nearly all the MSS. For this ungrammatical reading Heerw. suggests *evecti haerent*. Weiss. reads *evecti tenentur*. Cf. 43, 1; 45, 3.

ac praepropere: *ac* is due to Drak., and is supported by 3, 5 (cf. 41, 1); but Fab. defends MS. by 21, 63, 9.

ministeria. So Curt. 4, 3, 18.

capere et aptare. For a similar combination cf. 5, 3. The infin. after *prohibeo* is common in Livy, cf. 34, 3; 60, 3. The same construction occurs in Caes. and Cic.; cf. Rob. 2218; Madv. 390.

prohibetur late MSS., *prohibebatur* P.

11. *derexerat*. Cf. 43, 11; 21, 47, 8. Tac. H. 4, 58 uses it absolutely. Madv. reads *direxerat*; but the spelling of the text is

supported by trustworthy MSS. and inscriptions. Cf. C. I. L. 1, 1220; Inscr. ap. Guarnieri *viam derexerat*.

non...magis...quam, 'quite as much by their own disorder as by the enemy'; cf. 12, 11; also 21, 33, 3.

et temptata. Madv. Wölff. &c. omit the conjunction with late MSS.; but the reading of P is supported by 28, 1, and 21, 54, 5, where the participle (there in acc.) and the abl. abs. are similarly connected.

verius...quam; for this common expression in Livy cf. 23, 3; 21, 16, 4.

12. *quum adversi*, &c. 'as it was quite impossible for so widely extended a line to enter the river and advance up the stream': C. and B. less accurately render *adversus* 'in their rear', cf. 21, 27, 2.

amnis os, the certain emendation of Gron. for *adnisos* of P; cf. § 5.

agmini P and other MSS.: vulg. *agmine*.

tam P; Wölff. and Müll. adopt conj. of Luchs *tum*.

vadis...excepti 'jumping into

instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

XX. Roman successes along the Spanish coast.

- 1 Romani, quanquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam litori cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem
- 2 naves omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.
- 3 Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.

the shallows', where their ships stuck fast, as explained in 20, 2. For *excipio* and *accipio* with abl. of place cf. 35, 51, in.; infr. 52, 7.

instructam, referring to § 3.

suppressae 'were sunk'; but Pol. 3, 96 states that these four vessels simply lost their oars and crew.

1. *hostium erat*, 'was in possession of the enemy', cf. 21, 30, 5.

praetentam, 'extended along the shore'; cf. 10, 2, in.; Madv. rejects *in* as a repetition of the preceding letter; cf. Virg. A. 3, 692 *praetenta sinu*; ib. 6, 60.

litori late MSS.: vulg. *litore*: P with several MSS. *litoreis* (which appears to combine the two readings); cf. Curt. 8, 13, f. *quam (navem) petrae illiserat*; Ov. M. 12, 250 *illisit fronti*.

cunctanter, late MSS. add *tamen*, unnecessarily, as Liv. constantly omits it after concessive particles, cf. 1, 58, 10; Nägelsb. 268.

2. *quae non*, &c., i.e. the Ro-

mans took all the Carthaginian ships excepting those which had broken their bows and those which had run aground, these last amounting to eleven (40 - 25 = 15 - 4 = 11, cf. 19, 12). Crevier and others incorrectly put *aut* before *non* with a late MS., supposing Livy to mean that the Romans carried off the ships which had not *completely* broken their bows, as well as those which had run aground. But the latter would have been a work of labour and time, and *perfringo* does not of itself bear this meaning; cf. 21, 36, 8. Moreover Pol. 3, 96, 6 excludes these two classes in saying that the Romans sailed off with 'such ships as could be moved'.

religatas puppibus. For the construction cf. 21, 28, 7; also ib. 27, 9. Thuc. 1, 50, in. relates a similar proceeding on the part of the Corinthians.

quadraginta. Cf. § 2.

3. *levi*. Cf. 9, 4.

mari, i.e. the *mare Balearicum* as far as *Carthago Nova*.

Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navibus 4
in terram facta. Quum urbem vi cepissent captam-
que diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque 5
omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta
quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde 6
iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis,
ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauticam congesta
ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit, sublato,
ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo 7

4. *Onusam*, cf. 21, 22, 5. Con-
trary to the MSS. (*onusam* P:
others *onustam*, *honustam* &c.)
vulg. reads *Honoscam*, which is
not elsewhere mentioned. Gron.
prefers *Etoivissam*.

provecti. Madv. with late
MSS. *provecti*.

escensio. Vulg. after Gron.
exscensione, placing comma after
facta; but there is no need for
change, as Liv. often uses similar
loose sentences instead of an
elaborated period; cf. 21, 36, 4.
Tauchn. wrongly reads *ascensu*.

captam. For the repetition cf.
Madv. 424, 2.

5. *Carthaginem*, sc. *Novam*,
cf. 19, 3.

iniuncta muro, 'adjoining the
city walls'; cf. 5, 7, 2; 27, 41, in
moenibus iniunctum vallum: *in-*
iuncta = read. of two late MSS. P
inconpta: vulg. *conjuncta*. Gron.
prefers *iuncta*, as in 10, 10, n.

6. *Longunticam*. Longuntica
is not elsewhere mentioned, but
it probably lay a little below
Carthago N. in the neighbour-
hood of the *Spartarius Campus*.
Cf. Plin. N. H. 19, 2, 30.

sparti (*δ* or *ῆ σπάρτος*), 'es-
parto grass', or 'Spanish broom',
which was much used for making
ropes, like our hemp, as well as
the garments and shoes of the
rustics; cf. Plin. l. c., who calls

it *iuncus proprie aridi soli*, which
was not sown, but sprang up of
itself. From its abundance in
the neighbourhood of Carthago
N., that city was called *σπαρ-
αγής* (App. Hisp. 12) and *spar-
taria* (Plin. 31, 8, 43). Cf. 26,
47, f.

erat, inserted by Madv.; for
with *congesta* we should expect
quo, not *ubi*, cf. 21, 48, 9.

sublato. For this use of the
abl. abs. in which a sentence is
the subject, cf. 21, 21, 1; 24, 1,
m.; ib. 23, 3. This construction
is common in Livy and Tacitus,
but found only twice in Cicero,
and never in Caesar or Sallust.
Cf. Gossrau L. G. 451; Madv.
429, 2.

7. *Nec continentis*, &c. 'nor
did they merely cruise along the
mainland'; for *lego* in this sense
cf. 21, 51, 7. The text is cor-
rected by Madv. P and one of
the best MSS. read *periectas oras*.
Vulg. reads *proiectas oras praeter-*
vecta, 'not only did the fleet sail
past the prominent coasts of the
mainland'; cf. 49, 6; 21, 41, 3;
but the verb has no MS. autho-
rity, and the omission of *classis*
is harsh, as well as the change
of construction in *transmissum*:
Weiss. *praevecta*; but Liv. only
uses this intransitively of ca-
valry; cf. 24, 44, 10.

- praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam trans-
 8 missum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum
 nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem
 9 irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad
 populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque
 vicis, maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta quum
 in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati
 10 pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa
 retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo
 omnium populorum, qui Hiberum incolunt, mul-
 11 torum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed
 qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint ob-

sed, cf. 21, 43, 15.

Ebusum. Ebusus (mod. Iviza) was the name of the larger of the two islands called Pityusae, situated between Spain and the Balearic islands. Ebusus = Punic *i-ba-sim*, i.e. 'island of the pines', agreeing with their Greek name. Cf. 23, 37, 3.

8. *Ibi* late MSS., *ubi* P (vulg.); but its local and temporal use here is awkward.

quae caput...est. For the gender of the relative cf. 21, 61, 6. In such phrases the relative regularly agrees in gender with its predicate, especially when the antecedent is the name of a town in the plural. Cf. Caes. B.C. 3, 80; Madv. 316. The town bore the same name as the island.

nequicquam, Liv. uses this 32 times, *frustra* 18 times in 3^d decade; cf. Archiv für Lat. Lex. p. 9 (1, 1885). Sall. Rep. 1, 8, 2 has *nequiquam*, which would support *nequicquam* found in good MSS.; but MSS. disagree as to spelling; cf. Ritschl Neu. Plaut. Exk. 1, 57, f. Madv. adopts text.

in spem. Cf. 21, 45, 4.

9. *ex continenti*: so Caes. G. 4, 31; the same form of abl. oc-

curs in Nep. Milt. 7; but Caes. G. 5, 11 also uses *ex continente*; so ib. 8; cf. Madv. 42, b.

Baliaribus. Cf. 21, 21, 12.

petentes. Cf. 21, 6, 2.

10. *citeriora provinciae*, 'the nearer parts of the province' = Spain north of the Iberus: *provincia* is explained by 21, 32, 3, though possibly, as Weissenborn thinks, Livy has in mind the division of Hispania into Citerior and Ulterior (ἡ ἐκτὸς and ἡ ἐκτὸς Ἰσπανία) made B.C. 198; cf. 32, 28, in.

Hiberum incolunt, 'dwell near the Ebro' = *accolunt*, which Madv. adopts after Gron.; but we have in Virg. A. 7, 714 *colunt flumen*; ib. 682. Heerwagen also compares Eur. Phoen. 126 οἱ κεῖ νάματα and Pol. 3, 42, 2 τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν (Ποδανόν). Wölff. and Müll. insert *cis* before *Hiberum* after Gron.

et=etiam.

11. *dicionis...facti*, cf. 21, 60, 3; infr. 54, 10: *sint* is the reading of P and two of the best MSS.: *vulg. sunt*; the subjunct. implies a personal characteristic—they were the kind of persons to submit to Roman sway; cf. Rob. 1680.

sidibus datis, populi amplius fuere centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Ro-
manus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progres-
sus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum
concessit.

XXI. *Scipio defeats the Ilergetes. The Celtiberi
overcome Hasdrubal in two engagements.*

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis 1
tempus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeter- 2
quam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in
novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui
antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani 3

populi, 'communities', the in-
habitants of different towns, not
'tribes', as C. and B. render it.
fuere. P reads *fuere* (i.e.

fuere), cf. 1, 2.

viginti. P gives the incredible
addition *milia*!

12. *quoque*, i.e. as well as in
the fleet.

saltum C., 'the pass of Cas-
tulo'. Castulo (Κασταλὼν, mod.
Cazlona) was the chief town of
the Oretani on the riv. Baetis
(Guadalquivir). The mountain-
chain north of the city, through
which lay the 'pass', was fa-
mous, according to Strabo 3, 148,
for its silver mines, and formed
part of the mod. Sierra Morena.
Livy 24, 41, m. describes this
'strong and famous city' as so
closely attached to the Cartha-
ginian cause that Hannibal took
a wife, Imilce, from thence. For
its revolt and submission to
Rome cf. 28, 19 and 20.

Lusitaniam. Cf. 21, 43, 8.

Oceanum, sc. *Atlanticum*. Cf.
21, 5.

1. *per Poenum*, 'so far as the
Carthaginians were concerned';

cf. Sall. I. 33, 3; Cic. Fam. 7, 32
trahantur per me pedibus (Gr.
ἐμοῦ γε ἐνεκα); Rob. 2037. See
also 57, 1.

2. *avida* in n. r.; for the con-
struction cf. 5, 20, 6; Tac. H. 2,
56; for which Sall. I. 19, 46 has
novarum rerum avidi.

Mandonius, a Spanish chief,
brother of the prince Indibilis;
cf. 26, 49, 11. They are repre-
sented as acting in the same
manner in b.c. 206; 28, 24, 3. On
his subsequent relations with
Rome cf. L. 27, 17; L. 28, 33
and 34; L. 29, 3.

Indibilisque, P *Indebilis* (the
MSS. vary in the different places
in which the name occurs), Pol.
10, 18 Ἀνδοβίλης: App. Hisp.
37 Ἰνδιβίλης. As to his history
cf. L. 25, 34; L. 28, 31; L. 29,
1 and 2, in addition to the pas-
sages above cited, in which he is
mentioned in conjunction with
his brother.

3. *antea*, i.e. before the Iler-
getes were reduced by Cn. Scipio
in the autumn of b.c. 218, cf.
21, 61, 5—7.

Ilergetum, cf. 21, 22, 3; ib.
23, 2: for *regulus* cf. 21, 2, 5.

ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad
 4 populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes occisis quibusdam captisque magnaue parte
 5 armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quum
 6 fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dede-
 7 rant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma

salto, cf. 20, 12. *Romanorum* is the gen. governed by, not in agreement with, *sociorum*.

4. *tribunus militum* Gron., *tribus militibus* P, other MSS. *tribus milibus militum*: the corruption may have arisen from mistaking the MS. abbreviation *tr. mil.* Madv. reads *tribuni militum*, suggesting that the numeral II has dropped out. For the sing. noun followed by plur. verb (constr. *ad synesim* or *intellectum*), cf. 21, 60, 7; 42, 20, f.; 45, 28, f.

auxiliis, i.e. Spaniards, who had recently joined (cf. 20, 12), as well as those mentioned 21, 60, 4.

ut tumultuariam m., 'as they were but a disorderly rabble'; for *ut* cf. 21, 7, 7; on *tumultuarius* cf. 8, 7; 1, 37, 6; 35, 2, f.; such troops are elsewhere called *subitarii* or *repentini*.

omnes; P¹ *momnis*, P² *momnibus*; Madv. conj. *mille hominibus* (Heerw.) *occisis, quibusdam captis, &c.*: Wfl. *momento temporis*, cf. 25, 14, 10. Vulg. reads *magna pars, &c.* instead of abl. as given in P: for *armis exuta* cf. 21, 61, 9.

5. *tumultus*, cf. 21, 26, 1: *cis*,

i.e. north of the Ebro, where the Ilergetes dwelt; but cf. 22, 11, where it = south of that river.

6. *Ilergavonensium* Alsch., P *lerganonensium*: the spelling varies, cf. Liv. 91 fr. Ilercaonia, Caes. B. C. 1, 60, 2 *Ilurgavonenses* (some MSS. *Lurgavonenses*); vulg. *Ilercaonensium* (Ptol. 2, 6 *Ιλερκαδones*). The Ilergavonians (or Ilercaonians) were a tribe on the east coast of Spain between the Cessetani and Edetani. Their capital was Dertosa (mod. Tortosa).

Novam classem, 'New Fleet', is supposed by Uckert 2, 1, 420 to be identical with *ad Novas* mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, situated between Tarraco and Ilerda.

repens, join with *avertit*, not 'fresh news', C. and B.; cf. 8, 1.

7. *Celtiberi*, cf. 21, 43, 8; ib. 57, 5.

principes, accus. in apposition to *legatos*; this seems better than with C. and B. to regard it as in apposition to *Celtiberi*.

miserant, inserted by J. Gron. to avoid a harsh Zeugma, though against all the MSS.

capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde 8 cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII. *Publius Scipio comes to Spain to aid his brother Cneius. Stratagem of Abellus by which the Spanish hostages at Saguntum are delivered to the Romans, who release them.*

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo

provinciamque. Livy again applies a Roman technical term in speaking of foreigners, cf. 21, 5, 1.

8. *egregie*, 'with brilliant success'.

pugnant P and one of the best MSS., the rest give *pugnantes* (so vulg.).

ad (quindecim) Heerw., ac P, cf. 41, 2. Livy's statement sounds like an exaggeration regarded in the light of subsequent events. Cf. 23, 6.

occiderunt, note change of tense, common in Livy. Cf. 1, 59, 12.

signis. It is a characteristic of Valerius Antias, as Wölff. observes, to enumerate the captured standards. Cf. Val. Ant. ap. Peter H. R. F. 31, 32, 39, &c.

1. P. Scipio, consul B.C. 218, (cf. 21, 6, 3); in that year he received Spain as his province, which the war in Italy forced him to leave in his brother's charge (21, 17, 1). For his subsequent history cf. ib. 26, 5; ib. 32, 1—5; ib. 39, 3—10; ch. 45—48 (for his wound at Ticinus cf. ib. 46, 7); ib. ch. 52; ib.

53, 6—7; ib. 56, 9; 25, 32; ib. 34 (he is slain in battle); ib. 36.

prorogato: the first instance of the extension of the consular authority was in the case of Q. Publilius Philo, at the beginning of the second Samnite War B.C. 327 (8, 23, 11), who obtained two unusual distinctions—*prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta, et acto honore triumphus* (8, 26, f.). The first mention of a proconsul in Livy is in 3, 4, f.; but T. Quinctius receives this special appointment, which is not a *prorogatio*. The proconsul, who was elected by the Senate and people, had no jurisdiction in Rome, thus differing from the consul. Cf. Momms. 1, 261. When it became necessary to maintain armies in the various provinces of Rome, the consuls were regularly appointed proconsuls on the expiry of their official year. On the power and importance of the proconsul cf. Merivale Romans 1, 22; 3, 428—429.

triginta, so P and nearly all the MSS.: Rup. prefers *viginti* read by two MSS., as this coin-

- 2 milibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis
 3 ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque
 4 gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri prae-

cides with Pol. 3, 97: for *naves longae* cf. 21, 17, 5.

2. *ingens agmine*, &c., 'largely increased by a number of transports'.

onerariarum, sc. *navium*, cf. 11, 6; 19, 5.

portum Tarraconis; this was probably a mere roadstead, as Artemidorus states that Tarraco had scarcely a place to anchor in, while Strabo 3, 159 calls it 'harbourless' (*ἀλιμερος*). Ford describes it as little better at the present time. But cf. Livy's statement 26, 17, 2. Emporiae, however, was the usual landing-place of the Romans (cf. 21, 60, 2; ib. 61, 4), about 150 miles to the north. For Tarraco cf. 21, 61, 2; Sil. It. 3, 369. Pliny N. H. 3, 20 speaks of the 'colony' of Tarraco as 'the work of the Scipios, as Carthage was of the Carthaginians'.

tenuit, 'reached'; the expression is more fully given 31, 5; 21, 49, 2; 1, 1, 4: the latter, however, as distinguished from the former, implies a brief interruption to the attainment of the end in view.

3. *communi animo*, &c., so 3, 8. This unanimity forms a contrast to the disagreement of Scipio and Sempronius (21, 52,

7—8), the obstinacy of Flaminius (3, 8—10), the dissension between Fabius and Minucius (27, 9) and the self-will of Varro (44, 5—6).

4. *transgrediuntur*; according to Pol. 3, 97 this was the first occasion on which the Romans crossed this river.

nec ullo = *et nullo*, as the negative belongs to the subordinate sentence, cf. 59, 12; 21, 48, 8; note also the use of *neutros* 17, 6; cf. 38, 25, in *nec ullo Gallorum viso*; Roby 2238.

Saguntum, cf. 21, 2, 7: hence it appears that, though it suffered from the siege B.C. 218 (21, 15, 1), it was still an important place; consequently *deleverat* (28, 39, m.) is an exaggeration. The Romans recovered it in B.C. 210, 24, 42, f.

pergunt ire, 'they advance quickly,' cf. 21, 29.

traditos, sc. *in custodiam* from following verb; cf. 29, 21, 3 *traditi in custodiam Reginis*. Vulg. after two late MSS. inserts *custodiae*. Pol. 3, 98 states that Hannibal, when advancing upon Italy, procured hostages from such Spanish tribes as he suspected, leaving them in charge of the garrison in the citadel of Saguntum.

sidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollertia magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei prodicione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam

5. *omnium*, evidently an exaggeration, as several tribes had joined the Romans already, cf. 20, 11; 21, 19, 7; ib. 61, 7.

liberum P (corrected in this MS. into *liberorum*): for the contraction cf. 1, 9, 14; ib. 13, 2; 21, 17, 2; 22, 27, 11 and 40, 6; ib. 37, 5 (but 1, 9, 16 *purgantium*) and 6; 3, 25 in. *durum*. See Madv. 37, 4.

6. *Eo vinculo...exsolvit*, 'freed from this restraint', a metaphor from chained prisoners or slaves, cf. Plaut. Truc. 4, 3, 10 *vinclis exsolvemini*.

unus, opposed to *omnium*.

sollertia P and most MSS., vulg. after Bâle ed. 1531 *sollerti*. (For spelling cf. Munro, Lucr. p. 35.) C. and B. render the word 'inglorious' instead of 'clever'.

exsolvit. *Abelux*, corr. L. Val. : P *exsollicitatelux*. *Abelux* appears in Pol. 3, 98 as 'Αβίλυξ: infr. 20 (P) *habelox*.

ante, i.e. before the Roman successes recorded 21, 7—8.

cum fortuna, i.e. when fortune forsook the Carthaginians he had

changed his allegiance.

7. *nihil aliud*, &c., 'was nothing but a single worthless and disreputable person'; for *corpus* cf. 21, 13, 7 and 9; ib. 41, 16: so in Gr. σῶμα τέκνων Eur. Med. 1108.

emolumentum, note nom. instead of predicative dat. (23, 15, f. *senties rem tibi emolumento esse*), like Il. 13, 236 αὐτὸς ὄφελός τι γενώμεθα. Cf. 21, 4, 2; ib. 19, 10; 3, 55, 9. Similarly the abstract is substituted for the concrete in Sall. C. 14, 1; Cic. Att. 7, 13; 6. Cf. Nägelsb. 51.

8. *potestatis...facere*, 'could put into his power', cf. 21, 44, 5; 1, 25, 13; for the gen. used as a secondary predicate, cf. Madv. 281, obs.; Rob. 1282; Walk. is wrong in connecting *fortuna potestatis*=his 'wealth and influence', *poterat*, not *posset*, being the thought of Livy, not of Abelux.

obsidibus...adiecit, for dat. of gerundive cf. 2, 1; 1, 20, 1 *sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit*; Rob. 1382.

- rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum
 9 Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed quum iniussu Bostaris
 praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos
 10 esse, Bostarem ipsum arte aggreditur. Castra extra
 urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea
 parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum
 abductum, velut ignorantem, monet, quo statu sit
 11 res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum
 animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hibe-

unam...maxime: for this use of the numeral to strengthen the superlative, cf. 37, 54, in.; also with *omnium* added Nep. Milt. 1 *unus omnium maxime florebat*; like the Gr. εἰς ἀνὴρ πλεῖστον πόνον ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, Aesch. Pers. 327.

9. *iniussu*, used adverbially, like *incultu*, *ingratiis*, *vulgo*, &c.

Bostaris, Pol. 3, 98 calls him Βώστρω. He was Hasdrubal's lieutenant-general. The name was common among the Carthaginians, cf. 23, 34, in.; 26, 5, m.; ib. 12, m. Livy evidently regards him as governor of Saguntum, whereas Polybius states that Hasdrubal sent him to prevent the Romans from crossing the Iberus; but that he retired to Saguntum.

obsidum: here and § 14 P and many other MSS. have *obsidium*, cf. 21, 54, 7.

10. *litore*, for its distance from the city cf. 21, 7, 2.

ea parte: P and two of the best MSS. *ex p.*, the third reads *ea*: most of the late MSS. *ex portu* (so vulg.); but it is nowhere stated that Saguntum, which was a Roman mile from the coast, had any harbour. Pol. 3, 98 only says that Bostar encamped on the side of Sagun-

tum which faced the sea, τῆς Ζακάνθης, ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θάλατταν μέρεσι.

in secretum, &c., 'took him aside' (cf. 1, 39, 3), for which Pol. 4, 84 has κατ' ἰδίαν λαμβάνειν: for local use of neut. adj. cf. 47, 3; 21, 32, 7; Nägelsb. 73.

quo statu: P¹ *quod statu*, P² *quod in statu*: all the other MSS. *in quo statu* (cf. 3, 68, in.) or *quo in statu* (vulg.); but cf. 23, 24, in.

11. *metum*, viz. of the Carthaginians, without reference to the hostages § 5; otherwise this would have been a reason to retain them. The statement here seems to conflict with that in 20, 10—12.

continuisse, so. *in officio* (Caes. B. G. 5, 3, f.), 'kept them loyal', cf. 7, 25, m., *metu tenendos, quos fides non tenuisset*.

eam; the fem. usually points to a fixed, definite day (33, 9), though not always, cf. 8, 6; 38, 3.

Hispanorum, P *Hispaniarum*.

abessent: the imperf. of duration, used as implying a continuous state in the past. Cf. Rob. 1407.

cis, i.e. from the view of Abelux at Saguntum; cf. 21, 26, 6: it is differently used 21, 5; cf. 20, 10.

rum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bos- 12
tari percontantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in civitates 13
remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et 14
habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratae, quantum insuper gratiam possim, adiiciam." Homini non ad 15
cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte

arcem...perfugiumque. Livy avoids the foreign word *asylum* as Nägelsb. 18 observes; cf. 38, 53, 4.

novas, &c.; for the verbal construction of the participle taken as a substantive, cf. 31, 2; 42, 2; 21, 13, 2: for the phrase see 21, 50, 10; 1, 52, 1 *novantem res* = *καινοτομεῖν*. Pol. uses the phrase *κινεῖν τὰ καθεστῶτα*. In the above connection we usually find *molior*, *studeo*, or *cupio* instead of *volo*. Cf. 8, 17, m.

12. *quodnam*, &c., 'what was this gift which could suddenly produce so great an effect'. This seems better than to take *subitum* as = suddenly given. Cf. § 7.

13. *Id et Gron., de P. privatim...publice*, 'personally...in general', so 49, 10.

nomen 'reputation', cf. 1, 9, 3; 21, 43, 11; 27, 19, 4 *maximum nomen Imperatoris esse*; Thuc. 2, 64, 4 *ὄνομα μέγιστον ἔχουσιν*: for the fact cf. § 8. Wfl. follows Madv. in reading *momentum*, cf. 21, 4, 3. Cf. use

of *fama* 1, 18, 3.

14. *habita*, &c., 'confidence reposed in others generally secures it for oneself'. Wfl. compares 'noblesse oblige'.

restituendorum d. 'of restoring to their several homes'; cf. Nep. Them. 4.

mihimet...ipse, cf. 21, 14, 1. In this connection *ipse* is regularly in the Nominative.

et rei, &c. 'and win for an act graceful (or 'grateful') in itself as much further gratitude as possible', i.e. by emphasizing the generosity of the Carthaginians, or, in the words of Pol. 3, 98, *ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τιθεῖς τὴν Καρχηδονίων μεγαλοψυχίαν*. Note *Paronomasia* in *gratae*—*gratiam*; cf. 21, 58, 10.

15. *ad cetera*, 'as compared with the rest of', 'in relation to', cf. 38, 21, in. *scuta ad amplitudinem parum lata*; Cic. de Or. 2, 6 (25) *nilhil ad Persium*. Madv. 253 obs. limits this use to external objects, cf. Cic. Nat. D. 2, 62; Ter. Eun. 4, 4, 14: so *πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* Herod. 3, 34;

- clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret, expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si

cf. *παρά* Madv. G. S. 61. For the Carthaginian character cf. 21, 4, 9.

persuasit. According to Pol. 3, 98 Abelux told Bostar that he might expect handsome presents from the parents, on the recovery of their children.

nocte clam, so 24, 6; 24, 30, 2 *clam nocte*; cf. 21, 63, 9.

auxiliariis, serving under Scipio, cf. 21, 4: for *conventis*... *et...perductus*, cf. § 1 *missus...et advecto*; see 19, 11.

Scipionem, i.e. *Publius*, cf. § 1, who held the chief command, cf. 21, 40, 3: *Rup. conj. Scipiones*, as Pol. 3, 99 says *πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς*: but cf. § 20. See also 21, 52, 6.

16. *expromit* Bäle ed. 1535: *exprimit* P and most MSS.; cf. 29, 1, s. in. *expromerent quid sentirent*.

et fide: contrary to P and two of the best MSS. the vulg. omits the conjunction, placing a full stop after *expromit*. For the phrase cf. Sall. C. 44, 3; ib. 81, 1. So in Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 44 *ἔδωσαν πλῆτιν καὶ ἑλαβον*, for which in An. 7, 3, 1 he uses *δεξιὰς δόν-*

tes kal λαβόντες: cf. 28, 35, 1.

mandatis = Bostar's instructions.

17. *Dimissus*, subordinated to *profectus* = *quum dimissus esset*.

custodias, cf. 21, 4, 7.

constituisset, sc. *cum Bostare*, § 18.

iis, supply *custodiis hostium* from foregoing.

excitatis, sc. *ex somno*, 'having awakened'; cf. 25, 9, 13. Sall. I. 99, 2 has *exciti* in this sense.

ducit, sc. *obsides*.

18. *acta*, &c. 'were carried out in precisely the same way, as if the business were being transacted in the name of C.': *per eundem ordinem* (C) is not found elsewhere in Livy: P reads *ordine* (cf. 7, 11) which Stroth, Alsch. &c. retain, referring *eundem* to Abelux: Heerw. proposes (*eodem*) *ordine*, which Luterb. accepts, reading *peracta* instead of *per eundem*. Pol. 3, 99 states that the Romans employed Abelux, on whom they conferred distinction, to take back the hostages to their homes, *συμπέμψαντες τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύους*.

Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior ali- 19
quanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam
quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim
graves superbos in rebus secundis expertos fortuna
et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo 20
adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique
initium fecerat, et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra
videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu 21
defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota
forent, ni hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Cartha-
ginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

quo si, brachylogy for *quo acta essent si*, cf. 21, 62, 7; several MSS. read *quasi*: note change from acc. to abl., cf. 15, 3.

sic, one MS. has *res*.

19. *Maior*, &c., 'the' popularity of the Romans was much greater than what would have fallen to the lot of the Carthaginians, though the benefit was the same'. For the position of the abl. of measure, *aliquanto*, cf. 48, 4; 21, 15, 5; in the same way Liv. uses adverbial acc. *aliquantum ampliorem*, 1, 7, 9; Madv. 270, 1.

futura ... fuerat; the tense is Future in the past, referring to the time when Abelux proposed that the hostages should be restored in the name of Carthage; cf. 24, 6; Rob. 1494.

Illos = *Carthaginienses*, who are the remote object now in the minds of the Spaniards as well as in the thoughts of Livy; so *ille* refers to the last named in 39, 4; 21, 10, 11; 3, 72, m.; Tac. H. 2, 77; Madv. 485, a.

graves, 'oppressive', 'tyrannical': *que* is wanting in P and two of the best MSS.; for Asyndeton cf. 21, 28, 2. Note passive use of *expertos*, as in 21, 1,

2; cf. ib. 21, 2; ib. 30, 5.

fortuna, sc. *adversa*, cf. Hor. O. 3, 3, 62.

20. *Romanus*, i.e. P. Scipio, § 15.

ab re, &c. 'had begun with an act of kindness and generosity'.

haud frustra, 'not without reason', or 'not without good results', i.e. to the Spaniards and Romans. According to Pol. 3, 99 Abelux induced many Spaniards to declare for Rome by dwelling on the clemency of the Romans, the savage nature of the Carthaginians, and pointing to his own example.

21. *defectionem...* 'began to meditate (prepare for) revolt'; some late MSS. prefix *ad*, as 23, 16, 2 *quum ad defectionem spectaret*, cf. 1, 9, 6; but 3, 69, in. *arma et bellum spectabat*. Similarly *video* occurs 2, 12, 14, like Gr. *χρυσίων, δόξας δρῶσω*, Luc. Herm. 22.

armaque, &c., 'hostilities would have commenced', cf. 7, 29, in.; Virg. A. 12, 6.

hiemps, so Wölff., cf. Munro's Lucr., p. 35, 2nd ed.

quoque, i.e. as well as the Carthaginians.

concedere, &c., 'to retire to their quarters', cf. 21, 15, 3.

XXIII. *Fabius' policy of delay unpopular at Rome. He sells his estate in order to ransom the Roman prisoners.*

- 1 Haec in Hispania quoque secunda aestate Pu-
 nici belli gesta, quum in Italia paulum intervalli
 2 cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae
 ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat,
 tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos
 cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret,
 3 ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter toga-
 tosque, utique postquam absente eo temeritate ma-
 gistri equitum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero

1. *quoque*, i.e. in Spain as well as in Italy; but most editors bracket the word, which is perhaps a repetition of 22, 21; cf. 19, 1. After dealing with Spain 19—22, Livy resumes the Italian War.

intervalli, cf. 18, 10.

2. *quae*, sc. *cunctatio*: for *ut* ... *ita* cf. 50, 1.

sollicitum...*habebat*, 'kept him disturbed', cf. 8, 29, in.; with this use of the adj. as secondary predicate may be compared that of the passive participle, 4, 5, and *ἔχω* in Greek, with part.; cf. Eur. Med. 83.

eum m. magistrum, 'such a general', 'military commander'; for *is* = *talis* cf. 39, 12; 2, 29, s. f. *non id tempus esse: militiae magister* was probably suggested by the Dictator's original title, *magister populi*, 2, 18, 4; cf. 25, 6. Hence perhaps arose his nickname of 'Hannibal's pedagogue', Plut. Fab. 5. Note ambiguity as to subject and object, as in famous line of Ennius, ap. Cic. Divin. 2, 56, about Pyrrhus, *Aio te, Aecida, Romanos vincere posse.*

ratione, &c. 'on principles of

military science, not chance', cf. 39, 21; ib. 10.

3. *armatos*, &c., 'soldiers as well as civilians'; cf. 39, 7; 3, 50, m.; 4, 10, f.; see also Cicero's comments on his own line *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* (In L. Pisonem 30), where he describes the *toga* as *pacis insigne et otii*, *arma* as *tumultus atque belli (insigne)*; the *toga* was the garb of peace, the *sagum* of war, cf. 26, 1; Epit. 72, 73; Virg. A. 1, 282; Hor. O. 3, 5, 10; Iuv. 10, 8; but the *toga* was occasionally worn also by military men, 54, 1: for *pariter* cf. 4, 6; 15, 1. Compare also 21, 18, 13 with Dio 55, 10 τὰς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἰσχυριὸν ὑπέβαλε καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἔφη κ.τ.λ.

utique, 'especially', cf. 7, 11; 21, 54, 9; *utique postquam* again occurs 6, 20, in.; 23, 18, m.

laeto, &c., 'with a result which it would be more correct for me to describe as joyful rather than successful', because a trifling advantage might produce joy, especially when from the rashness of Minucius only defeat was to be expected; but as the loss

eventu pugnatum fuerat. / Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium

on either side was almost balanced (24, 14) the result could not be called *prosperus*.

verius, cf. 19, 11: for the hypothetical subjunctive = a modest assertion in 1st pers. sing. perf. cf. Rob. 1540; so *censuerim*, *concesserim*, *opposuerim*, *ausim* (= *ausi-sim*): *laeto verius* is due to Gron., for *laetoneprius* of P.

pugnatum fuerat, as recorded in the next chapter: *postquam* with pluperf. implies an interval of some time elapsing between what is stated in the principal and subordinate sentences; Rob. 1491: cf. 48, 4; 21, 20, 9; for *fueram* = *eram* cf. 36, 8; 21, 3, 2; but sometimes it is joined to the participle to express a continuous state now no longer existing, cf. 24, 2; 54, 1.

4. *invidiam*, 'unpopularity' (cf. 22, 18), lit. 'odium against the Dictator', *dictatoris* being objective genitive. Madv. 283.

una, sc. *res*, corresponding to *altera*, § 5.

fraude ac dolo, so 1, 53, 4.

perfugis, 'deserters', i.e. from among the Italian allies, who left the Roman camp; cf. 28, 1; 30, 16, 10; ib. 43, f.; *transfuga* is used otherwise in 22, 7; 21, 12, 4, but is frequently synonymous, cf. Tac. G. 12; Hor. O. 3, 16, 23. The distinction usually made is that *perfuga* has reference to the place which he seeks, *transfuga* to that which he leaves, like ἀποστάτης = ἀνρό-μολος. Cf. 43, 5.

omnibus (cf. 21, 43, 7; 58, 8), 'while all things surrounding it were levelled to the ground', i.e. houses, villages, &c.: on the adjectival use of *circa* cf. 21, 7, 5. The model for such expressions was the Greek idiom, ὁ περί τόπος (Plat. Timaeus 62, E), ἡ κύκλῳ χώρα (Xen. An. 3, 5, 14): as the Latin had no article, the adv. was first of all simply inserted between the adj. and subst., as *omnium circa populorum* 1, 59, 9; afterwards the adj. became a subst. and the insertion ceased, as here. Cf. Nägelsb. 232. For a strange use of the phrase *solo aequare*, cf. 6, 18, f. Cf. Zon. 8, 26 τὰ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χωρία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδήλωσαν.

eo, sc. *agro*: *uno eo* for *eo uno* is rare, but cf. Val. Max. 7, 3, 8; in like manner we find *unus hic*, *unus ille*, Ter. And. 1, 5, 46; Cic. Har. Resp. 7, m.

ferrum ignemque, our idiom is 'fire and sword', which the Latin regularly reverses, cf. 1, 59, 1; the phrase *igni ferroque* 35, 21, f. is rare. Hannibal posted sentries to guard Fabius' property from injury; Plut. Fab. 7. Coriolanus acted in the same way with regard to the patricians 2, 39, 6, Archidamus in the case of Pericles, Iust. 3, 7; Thuc. 2, 13 (but cf. Grote H. G. 4, 253), and Cerealis in that of Civilis, Tac. H. 5, 23.

omnem, late MSS., *omnium* P. *hostium*: Müll. and Wfl. after Crévier read *hostilem*.

- 5 abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso.
- 6 In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque, ut, quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret.

abstineri, cf. 26, 24, m.; in 1, 1, 2, according to vulg., this verb is used with simple abl., but nearly all the MSS. have the dat. *Aeneae Antenorique*. Cf. Sil. It. 7, 260—267.

5. *ea*, attraction for *id*, cf. 1, 45, 3; Madv. 313.

ipsius, sc. *Fabii*.

forsitan, this adv. is rarely used except with verb, usually in subj. mood; Madv. 350, b. 3; Rob. 1766—7.

dubio, 'equivocal', qualifying *facto*.

non exspectata, &c., 'he had not waited for the sanction of the Senate in that matter', allowing him to spend the public money; cf. § 7. According to Zon. 7, 13 the Dictator was not permitted to lay out any of the money belonging to the state without a decree from the Senate. For other restrictions cf. Dict. Ant. s. v. The Quaestors were under the same restriction with reference to the *Aerarium*.

ad extremum, &c., 'in the end unquestionably redounding to his highest praise'; cf. 3, 23, m.

6. In *perm. c.*, *q. sic*, Heerw. followed by most edd. Vulg. reads *verso*, in *perm. captivis*: *quod, sicut* &c. For *quod sic* P reads *quosii*: the best MSS. *quo sic* or *sit*, while one of these has the

correction *quod sic*: the vulg. *sicut* is found only in late MSS. For a similar *Asyndeton explicativum* cf. 21, 8; Nägelsb. 633.

duces R. P.; for plur. with sing. of component parts cf. 30, 13, in.; 10, 18, in.; see 21, 15, 4.

quae=*utra*, cf. 21, 39, 6; 27, 35, f.; Luc. 1, 126 *quis iustius induit arma*; Phaed. 1, 24, 8 (No. ix. of my Selections); ib. 4, 18, 2; Virg. A. 12, 727; Cic. Att. 16, 14, 1; Tac. A. 1, 47: so *quisque*=*uterque* 1, 24, 3 (but Madv. reads *cuius*); 9, 12, in.; Lucr. 2, 333 (Munro); Luc. 1, 127.

plus (sc. *captivorum*) late MSS., *prius* P: Valla conj. *plures* (Plut. has *πελειους*); but cf. 2, 52, f. *non plus singulis senatoribus*.

pondo, &c. '2½ pounds of silver' = 210 Denarii = about £7. 8s. 9d., the pound containing 84 Denarii from B. C. 217; cf. 21, 41, 6; ib. 62, 8; 22, 1, 17; ib. 37, 5. Crévier after Gronovius makes 2½ pounds of silver equivalent to a *sestertium* = £8. 17s. 1d. Plut. Fab. 7 makes the ransom 250 drachmae = about £10. 3s. 1½d. Cf. 52, 3; 58, 4.

selibras, sc. *singulas*; cf. 36, 3; 54, 2: with *selibra*=*semilibra* cf. *semodius*, *semestris*, and Gk. *ἡμιλίτριον*.

in militem, 'for each soldier';

Ducentis quadraginta septem quum plures Romanus 7 quam Poenus recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab 8 hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis 9 captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde fru- 10

on the distributive use of *in*, like Gk. *ἀνὰ* (Xen. An. 4, 6, 4), cf. 52, 2; 54, 2; 58, 4; Rob. 1970.

7. *Ducentis*, Madv.: P, C give ciphers CC: vulg. *ducentos*. 'Fabius had received back more prisoners than the Carthaginians by 247'; for abl. cf. 5, 30, 7 *legem una plures tribus antiquarunt quam iusserunt*, 'the tribes by a majority of one rejected the law'. Plut. l. c. makes the number 240.

saepe iactata, &c., 'after the matter had been frequently discussed'; cf. 3, 10, in.; 10, 37, m.; Tac. H. 2, 10: for a different sense, cf. 21, 48, 7.

quoniam, &c., gives reason for *tardius*, 'rather (or 'too') slowly'; on this absolute use of comparative cf. Madv. 308. See § 5.

8. *erogaretur*, late MSS., P and many others *rogaretur*: translate 'there was some delay in voting the money'; the verb implies that the consent of the people was first asked (*rogare*), before the supplies could be drawn from the treasury, cf. 1, 20, 6: so *abrogo*, *derogo*.

agrum: this small property of a little over four acres English was situated in the Pupinian tribe, between Rome and Gabii; cf. 26, 9, 2; sup. § 4. According to Val Max. 4, 4, 4 the soil was *sterile atque aestuosissimum*.

fidemque, &c., 'discharged the obligation of the state at his private expense': *fides* = the promise which Fabius had given in the name of Rome.

9. *Gereoni*, cf. 7, 5; 24, 10: for the town see 18, 7, where *desertam* hardly agrees with *captae*, and would seem to imply that Livy derived it from a different source. Pol. 3, 100, 4 also states that Hann. captured it after a short siege, but left most of the houses uninjured. Cf. 9, 2 *perpopulato*, which shows Livy's bias against Hannibal.

cuius... tecta: for separation cf. 12, 11.

pauca r. tecta, late MSS.: the text of P is here very corrupt *caulegiquaeratratecta*, which is but slightly improved by a second hand to *paucalegiqua' erat tecta*. Livy's narrative departs from that of Pol. l. c., who does not mention that the town was set on fire, but states that Hann. τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας κατέφθειρε, τὰς δὲ πλεονας οἰκίας ἀκεφαλούς διεφύλαξε καὶ τὰ τείχη, βουλόμενος σιτοβολοῖς χρῆσασθαι πρὸς τὴν παραχειμασίαν. Weiss. inserts *haud* before *pauca*.

in stativis erat, corr. Gron.: P¹ has the corrupt *instituisese-ⁿrant*, corrected to *instui' sese-*

mentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV. *While Fabius is at Rome Minucius attacks and defeats the foraging party of Carthaginians. Others attribute the victory to the Samnite Numerius.*

- 1 Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut
2 ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictas cum levi

rat. Cf. 9, 4; 21, 48, 7. The word *hiberna* would have better coincided with Polybius.

10. *duas...partes*, 'two-thirds', cf. 24, 4; 21, 40, 7.

mittebat, imperf. because, as Pol. l. c. states, he was in the habit of sending them out daily. *cum tertia*, &c., 'he himself remained on guard with the third division ready to move'. Cf. 12, 9.

praesidio, note predicative dat. in apposition, for *ut p. esset*, as in 57, 7; Rob. LIII. a; so 59, 9: cf. 21, 21, 13; ib. 34, 8.

circumspectans, for change of construction of 2, 11 *gravante... et quia*; 21, 18, 1.

necunde = *ne alicunde*, cf. 2, 3.

1. *Larinati*, cf. 18, 7.

profecto, cf. 18, 8.

2. *alto* qualifies *loco*, not *monte*; cf. 18, 6. Pol. 3, 101 states that the name of the mountain-top was Καλήμη (al. Καλήμη), lying between the Sam-

nite rivers Frento and Tifernus, in the territory of Larinum.

planum, cf. 21, 32, 7; Sall. I. 49, 5; Nägelsb. 79; *deferuntur*, cf. 15, 12; 21, 34, 4; for another sense cf. ib. 6, 5.

agitabanturque, &c., 'rasher plans were proposed in accordance with the general's temper': with *calidus* compare Eng. 'hot-headed'; Amphis 1, 10 (3, 316 Meineke Frag. Com. G.) *δρᾶ τι καὶ νεανικὸν καὶ θερμὸν*: so Luc. Timon 2 *θερμουργὸς ἀνὴρ* of Salmonius. Cf. 35, 32, 13 *consilia calida et audacia*. Cf. use of *fervidus* Sil. It. 7, 34. For *pro* cf. 21, 29, 3.

ut impetus, &c., 'for an attack', lit. 'so that an attack might be made' &c., epexegetical of *consilia*, not, 'so that an attack was made', as some understand it.

palatos, cf. 17, 4; 21, 61, 2. *levi*, 'slender', 'inconsiderable'.

praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, cum 3
duce mutata esse belli rationem et ferocius quam
consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse autem, quod 4
minime quis crederet, quum hostis propius esset,
tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in
castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius 5
hostem movit, duo ferme a Gereonio milia, in tumu-
lum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad
frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior 6

3. *fefellit*, 'did it escape the notice of H.', cf. 16, 5; 21, 57, 7; see also ib. 48, 5.

ferocius quam consultius, 'with more boldness than prudence'; note the second comparative, by which the attribute is negatived, as in 38, 8; 47, 3; 41, 10, in.; see also sup. 22, 6; Madv. 307.

rem...gesturos, 'would fight', cf. 25, 6; 21, 40, 3; 28, 2, m.; 25, 22, in., where *rem* was omitted before Gron. maintained its necessity. Cf. 21, 49, 13 *gestarum rerum*, 'military exploits', 'achievements'.

4. *ipse*, &c., i.e. it seemed incredible that Hann. should have weakened himself by sending out so strong a detachment, when so close to a formidable enemy. But Livy apparently forgets his previous statement 23, 10, from which it is obvious that Hann. reduced the foraging division, under the altered circumstances. Hannibal's object was to collect a large quantity of supplies for the winter at Gereonium, for which he had no time to lose; cf. Pol. 3, 100, 8.

crederet, sc. *eum facturum esse*, cf. 21, 4, 3. Liv. had already used this phrase 5, 7, 1. On the Potential Mood, cf. Madv. 350; Rob. 1534. See 54, 10.

Rup. regards this sentence as foisted in by a gloss-writer.

quum = licet, 'although': *propius*, i.e. 'nearer' than they were at first: the force of the comparative is here usually neglected.

frumentatum, the supines are properly the acc. and abl. cases of verbals with stem in *u-*, the former denoting goal of motion, cf. use of accs. *exequias*, *infinitias*, *suppetias*.

5. *propius*, cf. 21, 1, 2.

movit, not quite accurate, cf. § 10; rather he established another temporary camp, leaving his baggage in the original camp; cf. Pol. 3, 101.

Gereonio, cf. 23, 9: for *milia* cf. 21, 59, 1.

hosti, edd. before Aldus 1518: *hostium* P: for dat. after passive cf. 21, 34, 9; Madv. 250, a: cf. use of such compounds as *inopinatus*, *intemptatus* with dat.

conspectum, 'visible': *conspicibilis* is not used in good Latin. Cf. 4, 6: for *conspici = conspicuus esse* cf. 1, 47, 5; Iuv. 8, 140.

intentum refers to Hann.; Müll. after Geist inserts *se*; but cf. 21, 18, 14: the subject of *sciret* is *hostis* understood.

si qua, &c., 'if any attack should be made': the fem. *qua*

inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumultus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis brevior via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra.

8 Tum utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equi-

of indef. pron. is more usual than *quae*; cf. Virg. A. 7, 4; Madv. 90, 1 (n.): as *si quis* often = *quicumque*, so *et tunc* = *et tunc*, cf. Soph. El. 356.

6. *Propior*, &c. 'Then there appeared to him high ground still nearer' to the enemy: with *propior* supply *hostem*, cf. § 5: some take *inde* in local sense, but cf. Pol. 3, 101, 5 *μερὰ δὲ ταῦτα*: *ei* goes with *apparuit*, but Weiss. wrongly understands it as = *hosti*.

ad quem, &c.: the protasis = *quia, si ad eum c. l. p. i.*, the apodosis *haud d. hostis*, &c. Cf. 21, 6, 4. Gron. strikes out *ceperunt*, connecting *ad quem c.* with *missi*.

luce palam...nocte clam, note double opposition of time and manner, with asyndeton, as usual in synonymous notions. Cf. 22, 15; Cic. Off. 3, 24, 93.

iretur, subj. as expressing Hannibal's thought; cf. § 9; 28, 3, and 13; 43, 11. See also 21, 5, 11.

Numidae, Pol. 3, 101 gives their number as 2000 spearmen; cf. § 7; 48, 2; 21, 22, 3. The Numidians were the most formidable portion of Hannibal's army; cf. 13, 10; 21, 46, 5—9; Momms. 2, 44.

7. *deiecissent* Gron.: *iecis-*

sent P and best MSS.: vulg. *deiecissent*; for *deicio* = *depello*, *deturbo*, i.e. to dislodge troops from a strong or lofty position, cf. 4, 53, m.; 44, 39, f.

8. *Tum utique* Weiss. (cf. 21, 54, 9), Ussing: *tum ut itaque* P and one of the best MSS., which vulg. reads omitting *ut*: Madv. after Ussing omits *tum ut* and reads *itaque*, thinking that they represent *tumuli*, at first added to *eo* and then misplaced. Translate, 'One rampart was now but a very small distance from the other, and this space was almost completely filled by the Roman troops'. See 16, 1. For *utique* = 'quite', cf. 27, 2: with acc. *exig. spatii* cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 17, m. *cum magnum spatium abessent*; Madv. 234 b, obs. See also 12, 8.

totum, edd. before 1518 (Aldus): *tota* P and most MSS.: so Hwg. who connects *prope* with it.

per aversa a castris H. (Madv.) 'from the side (of the Roman camp) which was most remote from that of Hann.', i.e. the *porta decumana* (Tac. A. 1, 66), whereas the heavy-armed (*acies*) marched through the *p. praetoria* facing the enemy (Pol. 3, 102), the other two being called respectively *p. principalis dextra* and

tatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec 9 acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabi (pars exercitus aberat) iam ferme se- 10 dendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque

sinistra; cf. 21, 59, 6; P and most MSS. after *aversa* read *castra e castris* (so vulg. substituting prep. *a*): one of best MSS. omits prep. Fab. and Hwg. followed by Luterb. retain MS. read., omitting *e. c. H.* as a gloss. Cf. 10, 34, in.; but the phrase *aversa castra* = the opposite side of the camp, which was farthest from the enemy, is grammatically suspicious: Rup. supports it by 5, 29, in. *per aversa urbis*, 'the more distant parts of the city'; 27, 41, m. *in aversis vallibus*, 'the valleys which lay behind them'. Weiss. thinks there is a gap and conj. *castra, ne conspici posset e. c. H.* *emissus*, elsewhere Liv. uses plur. in such combinations, cf. 21, 4; 21, 60, 7.

fugam...f., cf. 13, 10; 21, 52, 10; ib. 55, 7; ib. 55, 1, where it stands absolutely.

palatorum, cf. 17, 5; 21, 61, 2.

9. 'Nec, &c. 'Nevertheless (though H. saw his troops cut to pieces, cf. § 2), he did not venture' &c.

paucitate, cf. § 4. Editors from Stroth to Madv. have found fault with the tautology of the words *pars...ferme*: hence the latter has reconstructed the text thus, *q. t. pars e. a. et iam ea paucitate &c.*, omitting *ferme*: I have preferred to retain the vulg. which, though faulty in point of style, is less so than the violent alterations of some editors; for repetition of *iam* cf.

7, 40, in.: Stroth. and Gron. insert *dum* before *pars*, without authority. Fab. accepts Heusinger's conj., including *iam ferme* in the parenthesis, comparing for the postposition of *ferme* 21, 52, 9; but to say that 'a part of his army was now for the most part absent' seems a strange expression. Müll. and Luterb. after Hertz strike out *pars...ferme*, while Wölfl. inserts them parenthetically thus, *paucitate, nam pars &c.*, omitting *iam ferme*. But as P and most MSS. read *fame* for *ferme* I would suggest *fame coacta*, which might have dropped out from its similarity to the first part of *cunctando*: and this is supported by Pol. 3, 101, who says that Hann. was compelled (*ἡναγκάσθη*) to detach portions of his army to procure supplies. In consequence of an attack upon the Carthaginian camp, Hann. hastened back to Gereonium; cf. 23, 9.

10. *artibus Fabi*, 'according to the tactics of F.', cf. 32, 1; 34, 7: for the spelling of. § 11, and 23, 9. *sedendo*, gerund in apposition, cf. 21, 11, 3; 6, 20, 8 *oratione, facta dictis aequando*; Nägelsb. 114: for *sedes* cf. 21, 48, 10.

cunctando. Cf. 12, 12 (Sil. 7, 91—102); Ennius quoted 21, 18, 1; Virg. A. 6, 846. Sil. l. c. characterizes Fabius as *arte bellandi lento similis*. Cf. Sen. Ben. 4, 26: ib. Ira 1, 11 *quo alio Fabius affectas imperii vires recre-*

- suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus
 11 erant. Iusta quoque acie et collatis signis dimica-
 tum, quidam auctores sunt; primo concursu Poenum
 usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione facta re-
 pente versum terrorem in Romanos; Numeri Decimi
 Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum.
 12 Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo,
 unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo

avit, quam quod cunctari et tra-
 here et morari scivit?

11. *Iusta*, &c. 'Some writers state that a pitched battle ('regular engagement') was fought'; for *iustus* cf. 28, 13; 21, 8, 7; 38, 22, m. (where it qualifies *arma*): *collatis signis* means that the standards of the Carthaginians were brought face to face with the Roman eagles, cf. 1, 38, 5: these words are again combined 23, 40, f.: *auctores* probably alludes to Fabius Pictor amongst others; see also Pol. l. c.; for the phrase cf. 21, 38, 4; 8, 6, in.

Numeri Decimi, corr. Sigonius: *numerus deciri* P. This Oscan praenomen given to the Cluentii, Fabii and Furiis meant, according to Varro, one who was quickly (*numero*) born. Decimius is δρεξλει, and is another form of the numeral Decimus, as Septimius of Septimus, like Octavius &c.

interventu, cf. 10, 19, f. Pol. says nothing about Decimus, while Zon. 8, 26 states that the approach of some Samnite auxiliaries gave the Carthaginians the idea that Fabius himself was advancing against them.

12. *Hunc...praeuisse*: this and the following accus. with infin. to the end of the chap. depend on *quidam auctores sunt* § 11.

Boviani, Bovianum (mod. Bojano, though Momms. places it 20 miles from that town) was the capital of the Pentri in Samnium; cf. 9, 31, 4. This fortified city was four times besieged by the Romans during the Samnite wars; and during the Social War it took the place of Corfinium, when the latter fell. It was almost destroyed by an earthquake A.D. 853. Cf. L. 9, 28 and 44; L. 10, 12; L. 25, 13; Sil. 8, 566 *Boviania quique exagitant lustra* (which Riddle and White wrongly quote as *castra*, giving the reference bk. 9).

unde erat, 'his birthplace', 'native town'.

Samnio, abl. of place where = locative, Rob. 1168; for *Boviani* in same sense cf. Madv. 296.

iussu dictatoris. The dictator is here acting as consul, in determining the number of troops which the Samnites should send, in accordance with their lists or *formula*; cf. 57, 10. The total amount of reinforcements for the year, to be furnished by the allies, was previously fixed *ex senatusconsulto*. The separate contingents were commanded by their own officers (cf. 23, 19, f.), but on arriving at their rendezvous were placed under the authority of one of the 12 *praefecti*

milia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praeuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque 13 aliquid timentem, recepisce suos; Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum 14 Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade *vanam* famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV. *Speech of the tribune Metilius against Fabius, in which he proposes that Minucius should have equal authority. The praetor C. Terentius Varro seconds the motion.*

De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione 1

(cf. 23, 7, in.), corresponding to the 12 *tribuni militum* of the Romans, cf. 8, 36, m. Their names show that they were Roman citizens, cf. 42, 4.

quingentos Gron. (in cipher D): P and most MSS. *et equites adducentem*: whence some old edd. read *ad D ducentem*; others *ducentos adducentem*: Hwg. adopts conj. of Alsch. *p. mille e. adducentem*, regarding *et* (&) as an error for ∞ .

speciem...praeuisse. Cf. 21, 2, 6.

utrique late MSS.: P *utriusque praesidii*, 'reinforcements', cf. *nova auxilia* 8, 25, m. Livy constantly uses *praesidium*=a band of soldiers; cf. 7, 34, m.; ib. 36, in.

ab R. For the prep. cf. 21, 13, 7.

13. *duo castella*, alluding probably to the abandoned camp referred to in § 5, and the Carthaginian position described in § 7.

14. *quinque*, sc. *milia*. Cf. 21, 59, 1.

admodum, 'nearly', 'about'; cf. 21, 36, 2.

tamen in, &c., 'but although the loss was so nearly equal' (or 'in spite of the loss being' &c.); cf. 21, 55, 10: for *in* denoting the circumstances under which something happens, hence often = *propter*, cf. 10, 8; 22, 19.

vanam, 'false', 'boastful'; cf. Virg. A. 1, 392; the word is explained by Aul. Gell. 18, 4, 10: this adj., which is involved in the following comparative, is inserted, without MS. authority, by Wölf., who compares 33, 44, 7 *vana spes ex vaniore rumore orta*; cf. 9, 9, 15.

litteris. Zonaras 8, 26 informs us that in the despatch Minucius described Fabius not only as *cunctator* (μελλητής), but also as playing into the hands of Carthage.

1. *senatu*. For the hostility

- 2 actum est. Quum, laeta civitate, dictator unus nihil
nec famae nec litteris crederet *et*, ut vera omnia
essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere dice-
3 ret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero

of many of the senators to Fabius
cf. 12; 23, 8.

contione, 'the assembly of the
people', explained by § 3: *senatus*
and *contio* are again opposed
in Tac. A. 4, 40, f.

2. *laeta*, abl. of attendant cir-
cumstances, Rob. 1240; Madv.
277: cf. § 14.

et. This, though without MS.
authority, is adopted by most
mod. edd.; Gron. prefers the
asyndeton.

ut, &c., 'although ('granting
that') all might be true'; cf. 21,
47, 5; Rob. 1706.

secunda; cf. 23, 3; 27, 40, 4
multa secunda gesta; for this sub-
stantival use of adj. cf. 21, 35, 4.

3. *tum*. Cf. 21, 25, 12.

Metilius corr. Sigon., P and
most MSS. *metellus*; so Hwg.
prefers *Metellus*; but Plut. Fab.
7, 8, 9 (p. 141 ed. Feuilleret) calls
him Μετῆλιος οὐκείος Μιωνικίου τοῦ
ἐπάρχου, and the name M. Me-
tilius recurs 25, 22, 2, where he
is sent by the Senate to the con-
suls as *legatus* B.C. 212. Another
tribune of the same name is
mentioned 5, 11, sub in.

tribunus plebis. The Tribunes
of the Commons (φύλαρχοι) were
elected after the Secession to the
Sacred Hill B.C. 494, which Arn.
1, 149 says was to the Romans
what Runnymede was to the
English. The first two appointed
were C. Licinius and L. Albinus,
and these were *sacrosancti*, pos-
sessing the right of *auxilii latio*
adversus consules, 2, 33, in., and
also that of *Veto* (6, 35, f.) or

intercessio, which was employed
as early as B.C. 480; cf. 2, 44, in.

Their exercise of the *ius auxilii*
in the case of military con-
scriptions, analogous to the pri-
vilege of modern parliament to
refuse supplies, paved the way to
their future influence; cf. Ihne
Early Rome, p. 139. Respect-
ing the fatal results of the veto
Mommson observes: "The bold
experiment of allowing the lead-
ers of the opposition a constitu-
tional veto, and of investing
them with power to assert it
regardless of the consequences,
proved to be an expedient by
which the State was politically
unhinged." Val. Max. 2, 2, 7
tells us that such decrees of the
Senate as met with their approval
they marked with the letter T.

id enimvero, &c., 'said that
this was really not to be endured':
Bauer thinks that *vero* was omit-
ted either by Livy or the copyists:
P *enim*: edd. before Aldus *unum*
enim vero. The vulg. may be de-
fended by supplying the ellipsis
thus: 'Metilius must now speak,
for' &c.; cf. 3, 39, f.; Ter. Phorm.
5, 7, 90; or we may regard it
simply as an emphatic particle,
as in Virg. A. 10, 874; ib. G. 2,
509 (with note 51 in my Selec-
tions, p. 76); Nägelsb. 624. But
the text is amply supported by
Cic. Verr. 1, 26, 66 *Hic tum alius*
ex alia parte: enimvero ferendum
hoc non est: vocetur mulier; 31,
30, in., where Liv. again uses it
to express indignation. Cf. Gk.
ἀλλὰ γάρ, Soph. Aj. 167; Madv.

ferendum esse negat, non praesentem solum dicta- 4
torem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem
etiam gestae obstare, et in ducendo bello sedulo
tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque
et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat; quippe 5
consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie
classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablega-
tum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, 6
quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat;

G. S. 279. See also 3, 10; 21, 18, 9; 1, 51, 8.

esse negat=*non esse dicit*, on which the following *oratio obl.* depends; cf. Cic. Att. 7, 15; this usage is found also with *nescio* and *nolo*, the second clause becoming affirmative, after a prefixed negative. Cf. *ὅ φημι* in Gk.

4. *obstitisse*, &c., 'not only had (formerly, cf. 18, 9) resisted an attempt at success, but was now resisting it when achieved', i.e. by preventing a due recognition of it; cf. Sall. C. 52, 31: for the gerundive and past part. cf. 21, 21, 8.

in ducendo, &c., 'he purposely wasted the time while he protracted the war'. Bauer unreasonably objects to the prep., and Rup. suggests *ita*; but though we have the simple abl. 21, 11, 3, we find the prep. used as in text 1, 57, 9, and elsewhere in Livy: cf. Caes. B. G. 5, 11 in *his rebus dies x consumit*: for *duco* cf. Tac. A. 2, 34; in 28, 32, m. *bellum ducere*=*pro bello habere*.

sedulo old edd., *ac sedulo* P and most MSS.: Drak. defends this as=*et equidem*, cf. 21, 4, 1.

terere, Rup. reads *trahere*, cf. 5, 10, m.

diutius, i.e. longer than the Dictator's usual tenure of office,

viz. six months; cf. 8, 5; 23, 23, 2. He was expected to resign his office as soon as the special purpose for which he was elected had been accomplished. Exceptions to this rule were Sulla and Caesar, who were appointed Dictators for life. Cf. Merivale Fall of Rom. Rep. pp. 139, 385.

5. *quippe*, 'inasmuch as', gives reason of foregoing: Madv. places full stop after *habeat*: for *quippe* with participle, like *utpote* and Gk. *ἄρα*, cf. 5, 14, in.; Hor. O. 1, 31, 13.

alterum... cecidisse refers to Flaminius, 6, 4: *alterum... abl.*=Servilius, 11, 7.

specie, 'under the pretence' ('colour') of; for construction cf. 1, 41, 6: so 2, 32, in. *per causam*=*προφάσει*. Fabius' object, they meant, was to keep Servilius away from Rome, lest he might hold the elections for a new consul, and interfere with his authority.

ablegatum, 'was sent away', 'despatched', in military sense, (not 'banished', Ch. and B., see 21, 10, 3); cf. 24, 26, m.

6. *praetores*, i.e. T. Otacilius Crassus (23, 31, m.), 31, 10; 31, 6; 56, 6; and A. Cornelius Mammula, cf. 23, 21, 4; 33, 44, in.

quarum, two late MSS.: *quorum*

7 M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tanquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum

P. If weretain *quorum* it will refer to *praetorum* understood, and be governed by *provincia*, which is a harsh way of expressing—‘though neither of their provinces needed a praetor’: Voss, followed by Stroth, suggests *quum*: Crév. reads *quorum*, omitting *praetore*; H. J. Müll. rejects *provincia*; the text as it stands is undoubtedly awkward, but I would suggest the slight change of *provinciarum*, which would simplify the relative, and is explicable on the ground that a copyist might easily make it agree with the nearer rather than the more distant word.

ne quid, &c., ‘that he might undertake no military operation’: *bellicae* is read. of P and two of the best MSS.: most of the late MSS. have *publicae*. Livy frequently uses the phrase *republicam* (= *bellum*) *gerere*, or *administrare*, cf. 27, 6, m.; 30, 41, f.; Plaut. *Amph.* 1, 1, 42.

custodia, corr. Ascensius ed. 1513: P and most MSS. *custodiam* (so Rup. Fab. Tauchn. &c.); cf. Tac. H. 1, 87 (Ryckii MS. *custodia*): for this use of the accus. where we should have expected abl. cf. 33, 10, in. in *animum habebat*; 8, 2, m. in *carcerem asservari*; Plaut. Poen. 5, 4, 123. Madv. 230, 2 (n.) observes that the accus., which is given by many MSS. in such phrases, arose from mispronunciation, though we do not

find in *vincla habere* or in *imperium esse*. The acc. may be explained as a pregnant construction involving the idea that ‘he was put into prison and kept there’. Rid. and White explain 20, 6 in *usum fuit*=lit. ‘came into use and continued so’; but surely in *usum* rather depends on *satis*. Cf. Sall. I. 61, 2; ib. 112, 3; Virg. Ec. 6, 27; Nägelsb. 405. See 21, 56, 2.

7. *Itaque*, &c. ‘And so, good heavens! not only Samnium, from which we have now retired before the Carthaginians, as though it were a district beyond the Iberus’: *quo*=abl. of separation, *Poenis*=dat. *commodi*; for construction cf. 28, 12, 6; 45, 11, f. *nisi sibi tota Cypro cederet*; Madv. 262: for the attributive use of *trans Hiberum*, cf. 8, 1; 9, 5 circa *A. regionem*; 21, 36, 6. The allusion is to the treaty with Hasdrubal B.C. 226, by which Spain south of the Iberus was given up to Carthage; cf. 21, 2, 7.

concessum edd. before Aldus: P *congressum* (2nd hand *congressum*). *sit*, sed C²: *sitit* sed C: *sitit* et P: late MSS. *sed et*: vulg. *sit*, et where *et*=‘but also’; for omission of *sed* to emphasize antithesis, cf. 9, 3; Tac. A. 4, 351. Walk. suggests a comma after *tutante*, understanding *verum etiam* before *exercitum*.

Campanum, cf. 13, 3; 15, 4: for the other districts cf. 13, 6

pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc

and 9. Campania is represented by the mod. Terra di Lavoro, prob. derived from its other name Campi Laborini. Plin. 3, 5, 9.

agrum P and nearly all MSS.: vulg., with two inferior MSS., *agros*; but cf. 15, 4, op. 23, 6, where plur. noun comes first.

sedente edd. before Ald.: *edenti* P: *sedenti* C (which Hwg. attributes to P); cf. 21, 43, 14: for *sedeo* cf. 3, 10.

Casilini, cf. 13, 6.

legionibus, for abl. cf. 3, 9; for the accusation cf. 23, 4; but this was the more cruel, after the statement *ib.* § 8.

8. *prope* belongs to *clausos*, which is explained by § 9; cf. 12, 8.

tanquam, &c., 'they had been disarmed, as though they were prisoners from the enemy'; for dat. of indirect object cf. 29, 2; 44, 6; Ter. Heaut. 3, 1, 13; Plaut. Capt. 5, 4, 30. Rob. 1140.

9. *ut abscesserit*, &c., 'as soon as the dictator had departed', i.e. for Rome, cf. 18, 8: as the principal verbs of the oblique narration are here in the past tense, we should have expected the pluperf. in verb of subordinate sentence; Rob. 1509, 1527; Madv. 382, 403 b; but Livy often prefers perf. subj., as though

principal verb were historical present; cf. 8, 4; 30, 10; 32, 8; 37, 10; 61, 8: for following *ut* = 'as if', cf. 21, 18, 5. See also § 2.

10. *si antiquus*, &c., 'had the Roman people preserved their ancient spirit'; the adj. is used as we speak of 'the good old times'; cf. 6, 27, 8, where we have *plebi*, as vulg. reads here; but P and one of the best MSS. give *plebei*.

audaciter, vulg. *audacter*; the first form is found in 40, 55, f. (cf. 44, 4, f.); Sall. Hist. Frag. 2 (p. 416 Gron.). Quint. 1, 6, 17 objects to this form: for the vowel loss cf. *quaestor* coexisting with *quaesitor*.

se laturum, &c., 'he would have moved that Q. F. be deposed'. This was an empty boast as far as the dictatorship was concerned; for though Cic. Off. 3, 10, 40 speaks of the consul Brutus depriving his colleague Collatinus, B.C. 509, which Liv. 2, 2, f. makes a voluntary act, and Cincinnatus forced the consul Minucius to resign B.C. 458, L. 3, 29, in., and *abrogatio* was proposed in the case of Marcellus (27, 21, in.), the dictator though restricted to six months could not be forced to abdicate, cf. 31, 7; Momms. 1, 263. For *abrogatio* as applied

modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando
11 magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne

to inferior offices cf. 5, 11, f. Fabius himself subsequently spoke of having Scipio deprived of his *imperium* with the help of the tribunes 29, 19, m.; but the actual power of doing this rested with the people. In B.C. 105 the proconsul Caepio was deprived of the *imperium* by the people after his defeat by the Cimbri; cf. Epit. 67. In B.C. 87 the consul Cinna was unconstitutionally deposed by the Senate. App. B. C. 1, 65 ἡ μὲν δὲ βουλὴ τὸν Κίττιον ἐψηφίσατο μῆτε ὑπατοῦ μῆτε πολλῆν εἶναι εἶναι, which, however, he disregarded (Plut. Marc. 41). In B.C. 84 the tribunes threatened to deprive the consul Carbo, if he refused to elect a colleague instead of Cinna (App. B. C. 1, 78). Antonius, consul elect for B.C. 31, was rejected, he said, by Caesar, not by the Senate and people (Dio 50, 4, 10, 20). In B.C. 71 the Senate compelled the consul Lentulus, who was implicated in Catiline's conspiracy, to abdicate; Sall. C. 47; Cic. Cat. 3, 6; cf. Daremberg Dict. des Ant. s. v. *abdication*; cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 20, 23 (p. 31 Lips.). For the deposition of Octavius by Tib. Gracchus by means of the votes of the tribes, B.C. 133, cf. Cic. N. D. 1, 38; ib. Mil. 27; Niebuhr Lect. R. H. 133; Momms. 3, 92. See 21, 63, 2. As regards Flaminius, Plutarch (Marcellus 4) states that the people compelled him to abdicate. Cf. Tac. H. 4, 46 in reference to consulships abrogated by Domitian. In B.C. 43 Gallius was deprived of the praetorship by his colleagues (App. B. C. 3, 95).

Lange, Röm. Alterth. p. 711—712 gives other instances of *rogationes de abrogando imperio*. Cf. Momms. Staatsrecht 1, 608 (n.), who says that apart from Collatinus, Livy does not represent any consul or regular superior magistrate as deprived by abrogation.

de abrogando late MSS.: *deinde abrogando* P.

Fabi: Bauer thinks that the gen. was here written for the sake of euphony, and Duker reads *Fabio* after MS. Harl.; the dat. is more usual, cf. 1, 59, 11; 5, 11, f.; but the gen. also occurs, notwithstanding Gron.'s objection; cf. 27, 20, f.; 29, 19, m.; Cic. Mil. 27, in. is doubtful.

nunc, cf. 60, 20; 21, 40, 3: for *rogatio* cf. Dict. Ant. s. v. *lex*; cf. § 16.

de aequando...iure: Liv. avoids the word *imperium*, because the master of the horse did not possess it. Minucius was no doubt elected by the people in the Comitia Centuriata, like Fabius on a former occasion, 8, 6. Pol. 3, 103, 4 says that such an appointment of two dictators for carrying out the same object was unprecedented at Rome; cf. 27, 3. Subsequently Philo is chosen dictator, while Fabius holds that office, cf. 33, 11; and Buteo was appointed along with Iunius Pera, B.C. 216 (cf. 57, 9; 23, 23, 1), the former observing *quod nunquam antea factum esset*. This assertion seems to be an oversight on the part of Livy, unless we regard Fabius and Minucius as only pro-dictators; cf. 8, 6. In the

ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.

Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur [tunc], quum hostem verbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret. Magister equi-

year 1862 an inscription (Corp. Inscr. Lat. 1, 1503) was found alluding probably to the present appointment *Hercolei sacrom M. Minuci(us) C. F. dictator vocit.*

11. *Nec tamen, &c.* 'And yet, even if this bill were carried, Fabius must not be allowed to join the army before he has appointed a consul to take the place of C. F.' For the two negatives, common in Greek, retaining a negative force, cf. 8, 33, 12; Cic. Verr. 1, 60 *non praetereundum ne id quidem*; ib. Att. 5, 1; Virg. Ec. 4, 55; Rob. 2246. For the death of Flaminius cf. 6, 4: *sufficere* usually refers to the choice of the people, *subrogare* to that of a magistrate, when his colleague is dead, or about to resign; cf. 2, 8, in. The names of the *consules suffecti*, unlike those of the *consules ordinarii*, were not placed on the list of the *Fasti consulares*. Of course *suffecisset* as usual only implies that the consul presided at the *Comitia* to elect a successor to the previous consul. The election of a dictator was an exception, cf. 8, 5.

12. *Dictator, &c.* 'The dictator kept away from the public assemblies, being far from popular as a speaker' (= *in agendo*), or, taking it hypothetically, 'as he should have offended the people had he spoken', i.e. because he

must have opposed the popular views of Metilius and the supporters of Minucius. For *actio* = a speech, cf. 3, 21, m.; it is more frequently found in the sense of a motion put to the Senate or people, cf. 2, 31, m.; 5, 24, m. Riem. needlessly reads *in hac actione*. The simple emendation *populari* had occurred to me before I found that I was anticipated by Gron. The sense will then be—'the dictator refrained from speaking in support of an unpopular policy'.

senatu, as opposed to *contionibus*. 'Even in the Senate he could not obtain a favourable hearing', whenever he spoke: note force of imperf., and for the fact cf. § 16: for *aequus* cf. Virg. A. 9, 209.

[*tunc*], *quum*: the vulg. *tunc* seems a needless addition; P¹ has *huncum*, P² with several MSS. *hunc cum*, other MSS. *nunc cum*, or *hic cum*: Hwg. conj. *unum quum*: Riem. conj. *cum nunc h.... referret nunc &c.*

hostem, i.e. Hannibal; cf. Fabius' speech 24, 8, 2.

13. *inscientiam*: P *scientiam*: Müll. follows Luchs in reading *inscitiam*, as Liv. has already 9, 7 applied the words *temeritate atque inscitia* to Flaminius, to whom *ducum* specially refers, and these words are again conjoined in 6, 30, 6; but cf. 26, 2, 7 where vulg. reads *temeritate atque in-*

- tum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem
 14 dicere reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii
 consilique sit, propediem effecturum, ut sciant ho-
 mines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam mo-
 15 menti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in
 tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam

scientia. The two forms are frequently confused.

Gron. (omitting *per*) conj. the dat. *temeritati* and *inscientiae*, as in 5, 22, 2 where *acceptas referret* would mean 'he put the disasters down to the account of the General's rashness and unskilfulness'; cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 22, 55, op. *expensum ferre*; hence the terms *acceptilatio* and *expensilatio*; see Sanders' Justin. pp. 358, 391. As it stands *referret* = 'mentioned', like *referre mutationem vestis* 9, 18, 4: for its political use cf. 21, 6, 3 and 6.

Magister...dicere P and one of the best MSS.: Vulg. *magistroque...diceret*, removing full stop after *referret*, which Madv. adopts, substituting *et magistro*. I see no reason to depart from the best MSS., as it is quite in keeping with Livy's usage to place the subject of the principal sentence in the subordinate one, when the noun or pronoun is common to both; cf. 29, 9; 21, 18, 3; 5, 1, f.

contra dictum suum, 'contrary to his orders'; *dictum* is read. of P and most MSS.: some have *edictum*; but cf. 11, 6; a very similar phrase occurs 8, 34, 4; for a poetical use of the word cf. 50, 10.

14. *Si penes*, &c. 'If he were allowed to continue chief in command and counsel, he would soon let men perceive that under a good general fortune weighed

little, while prudence and judgment carried the day': for *summa* cf. 21, 1, 1; Cic. Rep. 2, 28; 51 *quos penes summam consilii voluit esse, quum imperii summam rex teneret*.

sit, we should have expected *esset*, depending on a verb understood in the past tense, cf. §§ 12—13; but Livy prefers variety, cf. 18, 9; 21, 11, 2.

propediem, lit. 'near the day' = 'soon'; so *propemodum* = 'near the measure', 'nearly': Müll. Wfl. &c. write this word separately; cf. Cic. Off. 3, 33, f. ed. Heusinger. The vulgar pronunciation was *propudium*, Petron. Sat. 99. *sciant*, for pres. subj. after fut. infin. cf. 21, 45, 5.

bono imperatore (P and two of the best MSS.: Vulg. *imperator*), abl. abs., in a hypothetical sense, 'if the General is a good one', cf. 21, 33, 6: note want of part. in Lat. = Gk. *ὅν*, here we may render ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος τοῦ στρατηγού: cf. § 2; 3, 7 *quieto*.

fortunam...rationem, for the opposition cf. 23, 2; 39, 21 again in connection with Fabius' system.

15. *et Alsch.*, corr. of P and one of the best MSS. *dominari* set: Heerw. regards the *s* as merely a mark of division between the two vowels, common in P; cf. 21, 58, 5. The vulg. follows the majority of the MSS. in reading *se in t.*: *in tempore* = 'at a critical juncture', 'at the proper time'; the prep. is sometimes omitted,

multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta quum plebis

as we have in Gk. ἐν κερῶ and τῇ κερῇ, cf. 23, 40, m. and 33, 5, in. with 10, 14, f.: the Plautine form is *temperi*, cf. Plaut. Aul. 451 (Wagner).

sine ignominia, this may be a hit at Scipio, who shut himself up first in Placentia, then in Cremona, after his defeat at the Trebia, 21, 56, 9: for the hostile feelings subsisting between the two generals cf. 28, 40, in.

In the edd. before Drak. *ducere* followed *occidisse* without MS. authority; that editor struck it out. For the sentiment cf. Sen. Octavia 443 *N. Extinguere hostem, maxima est virtus ducis*. *S. Servare cives, maior est patriae patri*. So Sil. 7, 396—398.

gloriam esse. Crévier makes this the end of the chap., as the usual division awkwardly interrupts the narrative.

16. *consule, sc. suffecto*, cf. § 11. Atilius was now an old man (cf. 40, 6), and had already been Consul B. C. 227. For the part he played in this war adopting the Fabian policy cf. 31, 7; 32, 1; 34, 7. In B. C. 215 he was *triumvir mensarius* or 'state-banker' (23, 21, 6), and Censor B. C. 214 (24, 11, m.; ib. 43, in.). Pol. 3, 114, 116 seems therefore wrong in representing him as slain at Cannae. Another member of this plebeian *gens* was Serranus 21, 26, 2, whose *agnomen* Virg. 6, 844 explains.

ne praesens, &c., 'as he (Fabius) did not care to urge his claims

in person': *dimicare de* often = 'to run the risk of losing', cf. 24, 26, m. *de vita dimicare*; Cic. Off. 1, 24, 83 (Heusinger).

pridie, &c., 'on the night preceding the day on which the question was to be put to the vote' i.e. *de aequando iure*, cf. § 10. Before calling upon the people in the *Comitia Centuriata* to record their votes, it was usual, though not essential, to obtain the sanction of the Senate: cf. 21, 63, 3; Lange Röm. Altert. 2, 576. See Justin. 1, 2, 4 *Lex est, quod populus Romanus senatorio magistratu interrogante, veluti consule, constituebat. Plebiscitum est, quod plebs plebeio magistratu interrogante, veluti tribuno, constituebat. Populus*, he adds, comprises all the citizens, *plebs* omits patricians and senators. Cf. 35, 2. For *rogatio* cf. § 10; 21, 17, 4.

17. *plebis concilium* = *comitia tributa*; so 7, 5, m.; 38, 53, m.; for which Liv. also uses *c. populi* 1, 36, 6, and often. Laelius (ap. Gell. 15, 27) distinguishes *concilium* from *comitia* in that the former refers to an assembly of only a part of the people, whereas the latter includes all. But though this applies to the instance above cited, *concilium* is elsewhere used by Livy as = *comitia centuriata*, e.g. 2, 7, m. in which all citizens, plebeian as well as patrician, possessing the requisite property qualification, had the right of voting. Fest. makes

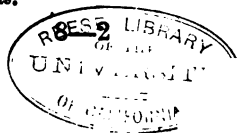
concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favoreque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen

concilium=*concalium* fr. *calo*=*καλέω*, hence=*σύγκλητος*, which was restricted to Senate. P reads *consilium*. The *Comitia Curiata* was the patrician assembly of monarchical Rome at which the King presided and which during the Republic, under the presidency of a dictator, consul, or praetor, passed the annual law conferring the *imperium* on the new consuls (which has been compared to the English mutiny bill), and decided questions of arrogation, cf. 5, 46, f.; ib. 52, f. But about this time that aristocratical assembly lost its actual power, and gave way to the timocratical military assembly, *Comitia Centuriata*, which met in the Campus Martius, embracing patricians and plebeians, and which had exercised the most important functions since its institution by Servius Tullius (L. 1, 43), declaring war (21, 17, 4), making peace, and electing the chief magistrates, under the presidency of a dictator, consul, praetor, or interrex, thus becoming the sovereign assembly; cf. 1, 60, 4; 5, 52, f. But from B.C. 471 (2, 56, in.) the great democratical assembly, the *Comitia Tributa*, convened by tribunes or aediles, gradually usurped more and more power, until in B.C. 449 their *plebiscita* virtually became *leges* (3, 55, 3), a right which was confirmed in B.C. 339 (8, 12, 14) and in B.C. 287. Ihne justly observes that to the *comitia* of the tribes "all progress in constitutional and civil law is chiefly due". Pro-

bably between B.C. 241 and 218 a great reform was effected, by which the *Centuriata* and *Tributa* were amalgamated, the tribes being divided into classes; cf. Lange Röm. A. 432; and thus terminated the conflicts between patricians and plebeians; cf. Momms. 2, 353. Cf. 33, 9—11; 21, 15, 6.

magis, &c., 'men were influenced by a secret ill-feeling towards the dictator, and good-will to the master of the horse, rather than by courage enough to come forward and advocate a measure that was generally popular', &c. The sense is *non audebant*, &c., *sed tacita*, cf. 21, 5, 3: for a pleonastic use of *magis* with comparatives, cf. 34, 11; 9, 7, in. See 12, 11. *Favor* in the present meaning, though common in Livy, is not found in Caes. and rarely in Cic. who regarded it, like *urbanus*, as a neologism, cf. Quint. 8, 3, 34: *versabat*, cf. 21, 30, 1; *suadendum*, cf. 45, 21, m. *suadendi dissuadendique legem: vulgo*=dat. of subst. not adv.; cf. Nep. Pel. 1 *magis historicis quam vulgo notus*.

et favore, &c., 'and so the motion, though exceedingly popular, nevertheless lacked support': for *supero*=*abundo*, cf. 8, 10, in.; Lucr. 5, 806; elsewhere it='to remain', cf. 40, 8; 49, 5; cf. this double use of *superum*, 40, 9; 26, 48, m. *Auctoritas* alludes to the advocacy of influential persons; cf. the use of *auctor* (2, 56, m.)=*suasor* as op. to *inventor legis*.



rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. 18 Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem 19 lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.

18. *Unus*, for meaning, cf. 21, 63, 3.

Varro: a member of the same *gens* is mentioned 21, 63, 12; for the further history of the one here named, cf. chaps. 26—61; XXIII. 5, 32; XXV. 6; XXVII. 35; XXX. 26; XXXI. 11, 49.

loco...humili, 'of low origin', op. 1, 34, 4: *sordido* points to his trade, cf. 26, 2. For the Roman views respecting trade in general, cf. Cic. Off. 1, 42, where he especially objects to occupations which minister to pleasure, including 'butchers'. Though Solon and Plato are said to have engaged in commerce, the Athenians and Thebans strongly objected to it: cf. Arist. Rep. 1, 10; ib. 3, 5; Plato Leg. 11, 918.

19. *ipsum*, &c., 'who sold his own meat by retail'. Though the rich *mercator* (ἐμπορος), or wholesale merchant, could command respect by his wealth, the *institor* (παλιγκάπηλος), or retail-dealer, being usually a slave or freedman, met with contempt, cf. Cic. 1. c. In 26, 16, m. Livy classes these men with freedmen and artisans. The *institor* (Plaut. Aul. 3, 5, 35 uses *caupo* in this sense) was equivalent to the *circitor* of Ulpian, whose trade was to hawk about articles of dress for sale, chiefly for women, as appears from Plaut. Hor. (Epod. 17, 20) &c. Mr Capes strangely says that "Plantus reflects the old Roman contempt for retail trade in the lines—Trin. 1, 2,

178 (rather 162) *nihil est &c.*"; for Megaronides is here speaking of fine gentlemen, or 'swells', *scurrae*=Fr. *flâneurs*. For a different sense of the word, cf. Hor. O. 3, 6, 30. On the status of the *institor*, cf. Dig. 14, 3. For the *actio institoria*, cf. Inst. Inst. 4, 7, 2. Cf. Mart. 7, 61; ib. 12, 57, 14. Ulp. derives it from *insto*; cf. Virg. A. 1, 504. Gron. regards the text as corrupt, and suggests *ferunt ipsum, institore m. filio hoc*, &c.

mercis, for *merx*=meat in a butcher's shop, cf. Phaedr. 3, 3 (ed. Siebel), 2 *pendere ad lanium quidam vidit simium inter reliquas merces*. Wfl. notices the biographical element in the account of Varro, which reminds us of what is said about Hannibal 21, 1, 4; ib. 4, 1; Scipio ib. 46, 7; Flaminius ib. 63, 2. In those instances, as also respecting Antiochus Epiphanes 41, 20, 1, Livy sketches their character on their first appearance, as Sall. does in the case of Catiline (C. 15), Caesar, Cato (C. 54), and Jugurtha (I. 6) &c.; though elsewhere he prefers to do so on the occasion of their death, as in the case of Fabius 30, 26, 7, Camillus 7, 1, f. &c., which is the rule with Tacitus, cf. Agr. 44. For the biographies and autobiographies of the Ciceronian and previous period, cf. Teuffel 1, pp. 43, 45; Browne R. L. 174. P reads *servili*, corrected by Gron.

XXVI. *Character of Terentius Varro. He carries the bill against Fabius.*

- 1 Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris
2 fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, procla-

1. *ut primum* Iac. Përizonius: *utrum* P with nearly all the MSS.: Vulg. after ed. 1505 *ubi*: Luterb. *ut iam*, cf. 3, 50, 4: Gron. (*etenim ex eo...placueret*).

ex...quaestus (sc. *parta*), note attributive use of these words with *pecunia*; cf. 17, 3. 'When the profits of this business, inherited from his father, had inspired him with the hope of a higher position'. The connection is obscured by the rendering of C. and B. 'he found...the hope of rising from these sordid gains to a nobler position'. For *animos* nearly all the late MSS. have *animum*; but the plur. is often used in speaking of an individual (op. 28, 13), implying a *superabundance* of courage &c., especially in a bad sense—pride, &c. cf. § 3; 28, 9; 1, 34, 4; 6, 7, f. *dictatura mihi animos fecit*: for omission of *ei* after *fecit*, cf. 19, 4.

liberalioris, as opposed to the statement 25, 19. The fact that a man had formerly been engaged in business did not disqualify him from state offices, as appears from the case of Flavius 9, 46, in.; cf. Momms. Staatsrecht 1, 470. Cf. *ἑλευθέριος* op. *ἀγέρης*: Luc. Somn. 9, 13.

2. *toga*, as opposed to the *tunica*, which Varro, as one of the lower orders, would have worn; cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 65; Tac. Dial. 7 *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus*: the *toga* was the garb of peace (cf. 23, 3; Tac. A.

11, 7), worn by the better class, which towards the end of the republic seems to have fallen into desuetude, as Augustus directed the aediles not to allow any citizen to stand in the Forum or Circus without it; Suet. Aug. 40; cf. Iuv. 3, 172 (Mayor's note). The *toga* was worn over the *tunica*; and these two constituted the complete attire worn by the great mass of the free population, which Rich compares to the modern shirt and coat: for a full account of its nature and adjustment, cf. Beck. Gall. 408, who observes that the *toga* was the Roman robe of state, only worn in public, while the *tunica* was the household garment. Cf. 54, 2. The *toga* being the dress worn on public occasions, and the *forum* being the place of judicial and commercial business, we may regard them as a *ἐν δὲ δυνάμει* = 'a political career'. C. and B. translate 'the advocate's gown suited his taste'. The *Forum Romanum*, here intended, lay in the hollow between the Capitoline hill on the west, the Velia on the east, and the Sacra Via on the north, in the shape of a trapezium, about 670 ft. by 200, or in length between the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and in breadth between the Basilica Julia and the church of San Adriano. Since the 15th century it has served the purpose of

mando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit. Quaestura quoque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et

Smithfield, and hence derived its name of *Campo Vaccino*. Cf. 1, 12, 8; 9, 40, f., Momms. 1, 117. The three *fora* for judicial business under the empire were *Romanum*, *C. I. Caesaris* and *Augusti*; cf. Mart. 3, 38, 4; Hor. Ep. 1, 16, 57; Ter. And. 1, 3, 21. For other *fora*, cf. 57, 6; 21, 62, 2-3.

proclamando, 'by declaiming', stronger than *declamando* or *orando*, used contemptuously to designate not a pleader (*orator*) but a bawling advocate (*proclamator*, *rabula*); cf. 1, 26, 9; Cic. de Or. 1, 46, 202. Livy represents Varro as a public prosecutor. Sil. 8, 251 says *Infimam vulgi fovet, oblatratque Senatum* (cf. l. 244-254).

rem (sc. *familiarem*) et *famam*, 'property and character of respectable persons'; cf. 33, 46, in. Cic. Leg. 3, 9 uses *boni* = men of rank, op. *mali*, as Theog. ἀγαθός op. κακός; cf. Sall. *passim*.

notitiam, 'notoriety'; *honores*, 'public office': whether the *honores maiores* or *minores* are here meant is uncertain; if we read *quoque* after *Quaestura* it would imply the latter; otherwise the former. The *magistratus maiores*, i.e. consuls, praetors and censors, unlike the *minores* (cf. Lange Röm. Alterth. 1, 706), possessed the *imperium* and *maxima auspicia*. Cf. Suet. Caes. 41; Hor. O. 1, 1, 8, where *tergeminis...honoribus* (cf. ib. Sat. 1, 6, 5) refers to the curule offices aedileship, praetorship and consulship. By the *lex annalis* B.C.

180 the lowest age for quaestorship was 27, for aedileship 37, for praetorship 40, for consulship 43 (40, 44, in.). The *magistratus minores* came under the generic term *viginti sex viri*, who discharged various judicial and civic functions (i.e. *virii capitales* and *monetales*; *virii stlitibus iudicandis*), and possessed only the *minora auspicia*. The lowest age for one of these offices was probably 20. The *maiores* were elected by the Centuries, the *minores* by the Tribes. Cf. 9, 46, 3; Arn. 1, 366. The first mention of the quaestors (Gr. *ραῦλας*) in Liv. is L. 2, 41. In B.C. 198 Flaminius the quaestor, without previously being aedile or praetor, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes was elected consul (32, 7, f.). For the quaestor's duties as paymaster, cf. Momms. 1, 294.

3. *Quaestura quoque* P and all MSS., except inferior one, which reads *quaesturaque* adopted by J. F. Gron. Madv. &c. For the *honores ampliores*, cf. Cic. Leg. 3, 7.

duabus aedilitatibus; these two offices were rarely combined in the same person; but cf. 27, 21, 9 with ib. 33, 7, where it appears that C. Servilius was plebeian aedile B.C. 209 and curule aedile B.C. 208. For the former office cf. L. 3, 6; for the latter cf. L. 6, 42. For the functions of the *aedilis* (Gr. ἀγρονομός, δασυνομός) cf. Dict. Ant. s. v. See Momms. Staatsrecht 1, 532.

praetura, cf. 33, 8; 55, 1; 21,

praetura perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem quum
4 attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris
popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiit scitique plebis
unus gratiam tulit.

3, 4. For the original application of the name praetor to the consul, cf. L. 3, 55; Momms. 1, 257. On the appointment of provincial praetors B.C. 227 to supersede the quaestors in their transmarine functions cf. Momms. 2, 67.

perfunctus, cf. 28, 40, f.; Cic. Fam. 11, 17 *magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis perfunctus*. Varro might now aspire to the highest dignity of the state, having regularly passed through the subordinate offices. Exceptions however are found to the rule regulating the succession to state-offices, Valerius Corvus having been elected consul B.C. 345 at the age of 23 without having held a curule dignity (7, 26, f.), as was the case with Scipio also (21, 6, 3). It was enacted B.C. 342 that the same functionary should not hold two curule offices at once, cf. Momms. 1, 321 (n.).

consulatus; cf. 25, 11; 27, 9; 45, 5; 21, 17, 1; for the time of election to the consulship (Gr. *ἡμερα*) cf. 1, 4 (the ides of March was the day of Caesar's assassination; cf. Shaksp. J. Caes. 3, 1, 1); but from B.C. 479—451 July 1 was the date (cf. L. 3, 6), and from 449—400 Dec. 13 (cf. L. 4, 37); for the ceremonies with sacrifice (like Gr. *εὐχέρεια*) cf. 21, 63, 7; for the consul's accountability after abdication cf. 40, 3; 49, 11; for the first consulship cf. 1, 60, 4. The *lex Licinia-Sextia* B.C. 367 enacted that one must be a plebeian; cf.

34, 11; this was an extension of the *lex Canuleia* B.C. 445, cf. 4, 1, in. But even down to the time of Marius the patricians managed to keep it in their own families, cf. Sall. I. 63, f. See Lange Röm. Alterth. 1, 622 sqq. The etymology of *consul* is doubtful; Mommsen derives it from *cum + salio* = one who leaps with another = *collega* (cf. *praesul*, *exul*); Niebuhr makes it = *conesul* (\sqrt{es} = to be) = one who is with another; Attius connects it with *consulo* = a counsellor, Bréal with *solum*, \sqrt{sed} = one who sits with another.

4. *haud parum*, &c., 'with no small cunning (or 'skill') he sought to win the inconstant favour of the populace, profiting by the ill-feeling existing against the dictator, and gained for himself alone the credit of the decree of the commons', although he was only the supporter, not the proposer, of the bill; cf. 25, 8, 10 and 18: for the figure Meiosis or Litotes in *haud parum* = *nimis* or *valde*, cf. 25, 18; 1, 30, 6; ib. 35, 5; Hor. O. 1, 37, 32; see also my Selections from Virgil p. 65, 42. On Livy's use of *haud*, cf. 1, 8, 3 (Seeley's note). The character here ascribed to Varro is illustrated by 34, 2. The word *aura* is a metaphor from navigation (like Gr. *ὄψος*), involving the notion of unsteadiness and inconstancy,—and is very common in Liv., cf. 3, 33, m.; 42, 30, in. *Perseus aurae popularis erat*; Virg. 6, 817; Luc. 1, 132.

dictatoria, Madv. after late

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique 5
in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum
dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt.
Ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitu- 6
dinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevi-
entis iniuriam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris 7

MSS. *dictatoris* (= objective gen. Rob. 1312); for the adj. cf. 21, 63, 5; Cic. Cluent. 28, 77 *ex invidia senatoria crescere*; Nägelsb. 20, 3, a. For *invidia* cf. 23, 4.

scitique, &c.: a plebiscite was the decree of the people consequent on the tribunician rogation in the *Comitia Tributa*; cf. 25, 17; 30, 4. The allusion here is to 25, 10, and 18. At first these 'resolves of the multitude' were only analogous to our 'resolutions'; but they nominally (Niebuhr 2, 366) obtained the sanction of law by the *leges Valeria* (B.C. 449) and *Pubilia* (B.C. 339), and actually by the *lex Hortensia* (B.C. 286), and from that time date the great sources of change in the body of Roman law. Cf. Inst. of Inst. 2, 4 *plebiscita, lege Hortensia lata, non minus valere quam leges coeperunt* (Sandars' Intr. xxiv.); Gell. 15, 27, 4. A *populi scitum* was a law passed in the curiate or centuriate assembly. For *Hortensius* cf. Epit. 11; Plin. N. H. 16, 37; Arn. 2, 383. Festus defines a *plebiscitum* as that *quod tribunus plebis sine patriciis plebem rogavit, id est consuluit, plebesque scivit; for gratiam tulit*, cf. 35, 35, in.

5. *quique...quique*, the poetical use of the double enclitic *que* is rare, except when connecting a double relative sentence, as here, where it = *et...et*; for other

combinations cf. Madv. 435, obs. 1. Liv. often uses it in this manner, but only with *qui*; cf. 25, 22, 12; this use is not found in Caes. or Cic.; cf. 21, 30, 2.

aequi, &c., 'friends and foes'; cf. 5, 45, 1; Plin. Ep. 9, 1.

in contumeliam, &c., 'considered the bill to have been passed as an insult to him' (the dictator); for *accipio*, cf. 21, 63, 14; 39, 26, m.; for *in*=aim or purpose, cf. 21, 43, 7. The attitude of Fabius on this occasion is compared to that of Diogenes the Cynic by Plutarch (Fab. 10).

6. *qua gravitate*, &c. 'in the same dignified spirit in which he had borne &c....he now bore the wrong inflicted by the people in their rage against him'. - For *ad* here = *apud* cf. 21, 46, 6 (where Heusinger places full stop after *subsidia*); 3, 9, in. *superbiam ad plebem criminatus*. Heerw. with P and most MSS. reads *saevientem* (P *sevientem*), corrected in ed. of Ascensius 1513. H. supports it by 21, 11, 8; but its harshness justifies alteration. Cf. 1, 1, 1.

7. *in ipso itinere*, 'while still on his way' to Gereonium, alluding to 25, 16; cf. 24, 5.

litteris senatusque consulto, corr. Gron. P gives *s.c.* (abbreviated): Vulg. *senatus consulti*: Lips. with three late MSS. *l. senatus* (omitting *consulto*), so Drak. Madv. and Riem.: Stroth. *s. consulisque*: nearly all MSS. *consulti* or *s.c.* The 'letter' here meant is pro-

senatusque consulto de aequato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII. *Minucius elated by success proposes that he and Fabius should have the command every alternate day. The latter refuses and divides the legions between them.*

- 1 Minucius vero quum iam ante vix tolerabilis
2 fuisset rebus secundis ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab

bably that of the Praetor (33, 9), or Consul Atilius (25, 16; 24, 14, 9), accompanying the decree of the senate; see 40, 41, f. By the Valerio-Horatian law (25, 4; 3, 55, in.) *plebiscita* became *leges*; but the usual course was for the Tribunes to bring their resolution before the senate, and on obtaining the approval (*auctoritas*) of that body, to lay it before the people, when it became law, as Dion. Hal. says, *ἀν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ*. Cf. 1, 17, 9; 4, 49, 6. But exceptions to this rule occur; cf. 21, 63, 3. The Hortensian law finally deprived the senate of its veto. On the legislative powers of the senate cf. Momms. 1, 325; Beck. Röm. Alt. 2, 3, 118; Lange R. A. 2, 576. For the position of *que*, cf. § 4; 9, 10; 41, 9, f. *iurisque dictio*: Liv. also has *per quaeque* = *et per quae* 34, 3, in.

de aequato imp. This 'equalisation of military authority' was of course a thoroughly unconstitutional measure; cf. Pol. 3, 103, 4 *δύο δικτάτωρες ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις, δὲ πρότερον οὐδέποτε συνεβεβήκει παρὰ Πωλίου*. It was contradictory to

the very notion of a dictatorship, which was intended to prevent the ill consequences of divided authority when the republic was in danger. Cf. Livy's discussion 2, 18, m. as to whether T. Lartius (B.C. 501) or Manius Valerius (B.C. 494; cf. ib. 2, 30, sub in.) was the first dictator.—(*μὲν-αρχος, ἀστυμνήτης* Dionys. 5, 73.) See Arn. 1, 145. Cf. 8, 6; 25, 10.

cumque P: Gron. after late MSS. omits *que* (so Madv.); but Liv. often changes his construction, which is supported by 24, 27, 1; 21, 5, 12.

invicto a. c. a. cf. 15, 1.

1. *quum iam...tum*, 'while already...now' &c.; *utique* corresponds to *vix*; cf. 24, 8; 21, 11, 8.

r. secundis, for abl. of cause = *ob*, or *propter* with acc., cf. 11, 6: for hindering cause expressed by *prae*, cf. 21, 56, 3.

2. *immodice immodesteque*, 'without measure or moderation', equivalent to *sine modo ac modestia* 26, 48, 11; cf. 30, 42, m. *modeste ac moderate*; *modice et modeste* Plaut. Pers. 3, 1, 18. From the frequent occurrence of synonymous words of the same root in comedy, this usage would

se quam Q. Fabio gloriari. Illum in rebus asperis 3
unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, ma-
iorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod
nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequa-
tum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum
virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere
soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque eni- 4
tuisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dic-

seem derived from the popular speech; cf. Plaut. Curc. 1, 3, 44. Wölf. considers it a characteristic of archaic Latinity.

non Hannibale, &c., 'he boasted not so much on account of his victory over H. as on account of that over Q. Fabius': with *Fabio* supply *victo*: for abl. cf. Quint. 3, 6, 93 *gloriatu occiso cive*; Liv. 1, 28, 11 uses *in* with abl., the prep. implying possession of object of boast: on Livy's use of the pass. part. cf. 21, 1, 5; Nägelsb. 107. For *non...magis...quam*, in which the second member of the sentence is emphasized, cf. 12, 11.

3. *Illum*, &c. 'That man, he said, who in their troubles had been sought out as a unique general and a match for H., had, by order of the people, been put on a level with himself, the superior (being placed on an equal footing) with the inferior, the dictator with the master of the horse, a thing unprecedented in history'. For *unicum* cf. 14, 9; *parem* ('match', hence often = 'opponent') 12, 5; 27, 6; 24, 8, 2; *maiorem* here does not of course refer to age; but cf. the joke of Marcius 42, 39, m. See 26, 2.

memoria. Cf. 21, 28, 5: *annalium* here = the *Annales Maximi* drawn up by the Pontifex Maximus, and annually shown on a white table at his house;

Cic. de Or. 2, 12, 52; see Teuffel R. L. 1, 91; ib. 41.

magistri, subject of *soliti sint*.

The allusion is to L. 8, 30, 35. In the Samnite war B.C. 325 (Liv. B.C. 322) the dictator, Papirius Cursor, had charged his master of the horse, Fabius Rullianus, to remain on the defensive during his absence. But for the prayers of the people, Fabius would have been executed, like Manlius in B.C. 340 (8, 7, f.), for disobedience. Arn. 2, 200.

virgas.....tremere.....horrere.

Note poetic construction, like *pavescentes* with acc. 23, 5, 8; cf. Rob. 1123. The *virgae* (αἱ πάβδοι) were birchen or elm rods composing the *fascies*, in which an axe was inserted, 24 of which were borne by lictors before the dictator; 2, 18, m.

4. *tantum...enituisse*, 'so brilliant had been' &c.; for *tantum*, subjoining reason of foregoing observations, cf. 28, 13; see use of *adeo* 21, 11, 1. For verb cf. 1, 42, 3; 2, 24, f.; 3, 63, in. (where the tense is, as usual in this sense, perf.); 5, 36, m. *tantum eminebat virtus*. Vulg. with most late MSS. reads *in tantum*, due to error in P *solitisintantum*. Cf. Tac. G. 45, f.

secuturum, late MSS.: P *secuturumque*, whence Hwg. conj. *non defuturum secuturumque* (cf. 28, 44, m. *non deesse fortunae*);

- tator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque
 5 iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum
 congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium
 primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio aequato
 6 utantur: se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis aut,
 si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus
 7 alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti
 non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si quam
 8 occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haud-
 quaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam habituram,
 quaecunque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi com-
 municatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse;

cf. 21, 52, 11 (where he would read *adversus cedentes invicem sequentesque: quumque &c.*).

si d. i. c. Text is due to Gron.: P se dictatoris cunctationi. For Livy's favourite use of *perstare* followed by *in* with abl., cf. 23, 14, 7.

deorum hominumque (cf. Virg. A. 2, 745), the former granting him the victory (24, 14), the latter passing the plebiscite giving Minucius equal authority with Fabius (26, 7).

6. *ducere*: cf. 21, 41, 12. Pol. 3, 103, 7, however, represents Fabius as proposing the alternative, and Minucius preferring the division of the army.

d. *alternis* (Pol. κατὰ μέρος = *vicissim*); for omission of subst. cf. 13, 3. Varro and Paullus in B.C. 216 commanded on alternate days; cf. 41, 2.

partitis temporibus (sc. *imperii*), 'during equally divided periods' (of greater length); cf. § 9; for the pregnant use of *partior* (to fix or appoint equally divided periods), cf. 21, 18, 2 (*defenderent*); ib. 31, 11 (*volvens*); ib. 36, 3; Nägelsb. 329—333. On the passive use of the deponent, gene-

rally in perf. part., cf. Madv. 153.

7. *non solum* late MSS.: *solum* non P.

8. *omnia enim, &c.*, 'for (he said) Fortune would have in her power all that depended upon the rashness of his colleague'. I have retained vulg. as following consensus of P, C and M. Cf. 25, 14. Madv. follows conj. of Burmann *eam habitura, quaecunque* (but Madv. omits *enim*)—'everything would thus be at the mercy of any mischance that might befall his colleague's rashness'—C. and B.; cf. 29, 8, 3. See 29, 1; for Fabius' opinion of chance 25, 15. Note *habuisset* = *or. obl.* representing *habuerit* in *or. recta*.

sibi communicatum, &c., 'though he shared the supreme command with another, he was not wholly deprived of it'; cf. 26, 7; Plut. Fab. 9 τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον (sc. Μίνοικλον = possessing an equal share in the command) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῇ δικτατορίᾳ: for construction of *communicare* (*sibi* = dat. of remoter object) cf. Smith and Hall's L. G. p. 166.

alio P and nearly all MSS.: Madv. (with vulg. and Aldus) *illo*, objecting to *alio* for *altero*;

itaque se nunquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum 9
 consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut
 dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque
 consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset,
 servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consu- 10
 libus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta
 Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item 11
 equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis
 auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari ma-
 gister equitum voluit.

but the former involves contempt, and seems preferable from MS. evidence.

9. *itaque*, &c., 'he would never therefore willingly surrender his right to guide matters prudently, as far as he could': for *volentem* (= ἐκόντα) cf. 21, 39, 4; Sall. I. 76, 6; it is used differently infr. 37, 12: with *qua posset* we may understand *non cedere*, or *res consilio gerere*; cf. 21, 62, 7: for construction of *cedo* cf. 25, 7; Madv. 262.

exercitum P with several other MSS.: vulg. *exercitus*, before which all edd. previous to Drak. prefix *sed*; for common ellipse of adversative particle cf. 21, 43, 6; 3, 71, m.; 33, 33, 5 (where however *sed* is now inserted); Nägelsb. 634.

liceret, so. *servare*, which is to be also supplied after *posset*.

10. *esset* P², C: P¹ *est set*: the subj. is used as representing the words of Fabius—'as, said he, is the custom of the consuls'. Cf. 21, 17, 5. For the usual division of the legions between the consuls, and the occasional formation of a single army corps under one commander-in-chief, cf. Momms. Staatsr. 1, 50, 1.

evenerunt, 'fell by lot to M.', cf. 21, 17, 1; 63, 1; but Plut.

says Fabius got the first and fourth. So in the Etruscan war Volumnius led the second and third legions, Claudius the first and fourth, 10, 18, 3. The legions were numbered in the order of their formation (*delectus*, καταγραφῆ). For the mode of casting lots (with tablets of oak, poplar, &c. dropped into a vessel of water) cf. 21, 42, 2; ib. 62, 5; Plant. Cas. 2, 6, 31—32. '*Prima legio*' &c. would appear on a *tessera*, and Minucius and Fabius would probably draw alternately from the urn containing the four *tesserae*. Cf. Caes. B. C. 1, 6.

11. *equites*, &c., 'they made an equal division of the cavalry'; cf. 36, 3; 21, 17, 5.

socium, gen. dependent on *auxilia*; for gen. termination cf. 22, 5. *Socii* and *auxilia* are usually distinguished, the former being Italians, the latter foreigners (*externi*); cf. 37, 7. During the Punic war we find Cretans, Spaniards, Celtiberians, and Gauls serving in the Roman army; cf. 21, 60, 4. See Marquardt Röm. Alterthum. 5, 388. On the contingents furnished by the 'allies' cf. Momms. 1, 435. For the *Latinum nomen* cf. 21, 55, 4; infr. 50, 6; 57, 10.

Castris quoque corr. Weiss.:

XXVIII. *Hannibal's delight at the folly of Minucius, for whom he prepares a formidable ambush. Battle between the Carthaginians and Romans. Panic produced among the latter.*

(In this and the next two chapters Livy closely follows Polybius, 3, 104 sqq.)

- 1 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos
2 explorantem: nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud

vulg. with P places *quoque* after *se*; but it plainly refers to *castris*. Pol. 3, 103, 8 makes the interval 12 stades, or a little over an English mile.

1. *agerentur*, iterative subjunctive; cf. 7, 5; 21, 28, 10.

eum fallebat, 'escaped his notice'; cf. 21, 48, 5.

multa, P adds *non*, against sense; perhaps we should read *nunc*: for change of construction, *indicantibus...explorantem*, most frequent in Tacitus, cf. 21, 48, 2. Hwg. cites 24, 3, 8 *una parte imminens mari, altera vergente in agrum*. Similarly Thuc. 1, 90, in. uses part. and gen. abs. *ὁπώρρες... ἐξορπυόντων*; for *indicare* = to reveal, betray, cf. 1, 3. From 33, 1 we learn that Hannibal had spies in Rome itself; see also 30, 29, in. where Scipio captures and releases them. (For the distinction between *speculator* = spy and *explorator* = scout, cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 11.)

2. *nam*, reason for *gaudium*: *et...et* explains *duplex*—'he was glad to think not only that he should entrap in his own way

the unrestrained rashness of Minucius, but also that the skilful Fabius had lost half his strength': *liberam*, i.e. unfettered by Fabius; *suo modo*, as in 21, 34, 1, though Bauer takes it as = 'in whatever way he pleased': for *captare* = *in fraudem illicere*, or *insidiis excipere*, cf. 38, 45, in. Note substantives of quality (*temeritas* and *sollertia*) used for adj.; as in Cic. Or. 2, 58, 237 *parcendum est caritati hominum*; Sall. C. 20, &c.; see 22, 7. For this characteristic of Fabius cf. 23, 1. Donatus and other grammarians derive *sollers* (hence *sollertia*) from Oscan *sollus* = *totus* and *ars*, i.e. consisting wholly of art (*op. iners*) = *ὅλος ἀπεργῆ*.

3. *quem qui* late MSS.: P *que eū qui*: translate 'and it was certain that whoever occupied this would render the enemy's position more difficult'; or 'the occupation of which would undoubtedly render the enemy's position less favourable': for the common attraction of the relative cf. 21, 6, 4; also sup. 24, 6, where the use of the subjunct. is

dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum factururus. Eum 4
non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal,
quanquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam cer-
taminis cum Minucio, quem procursurum ad obsis-
tendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius 5
erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo
silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum
habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis 6
quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat;
et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum
ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, 7

likewise explained. A passage very similar to text occurs Caes. B. C. 1, 43 *tumulus erat paullo editor, quem si occupasset Caesar ... se interclusurum adversarios confidebat.*

4. *operae p.*, 'worth his while', 'worth the effort' (lit. a reward for his pains); cf. Praef. 1; 25, 30, in.; Plaut. Amph. Prol. 151. Liv. 1, 24, 6 has the phrase *non operae est* = 'it is not worth my while', or 'I have not time'. See also 21, 43, 9 (where the sense is 'to earn rewards for your toil'). Cf. ἀξίον ἔστι, Eur. Alc. 627.

procursurum Madv.: *perocursurum* P: *semper occursurum* vulg. with late MSS.: text is supported by 25, 11, in.: render 'who, he well knew, would sally forth to oppose him'. Note difference of Latin and English idiom.

contrahere, 'to bring about', 'produce'; cf. 5, 37, in. *bellum contractum erat*; 44, 27, f.

5. *prima specie*, 'at first sight', = *p. aspectu* or *p. facie* in the jurists; cf. Luc. Anach. 29 ἐκ πρώτης προσόψεως. Cf. 2, 56, in.; 24, 30, 12. This is not to be confounded with *p. conspectu* § 9.

non modo, cf. 3, 4. Madv. 461, b quotes Cic. Lael. 24 for this construction.

vestitum, sc. *quicquam*; for the verb cf. 21, 54, 1.

6. *re ipsa*, &c., 'in reality' = *re vera*, answering to *prima specie*.

natus t., 'naturally adapted for concealing'; cf. 4, 2; 9, 2, 7 *ita natus locus est* &c.; see 38, 9; *loci natura*, Caes. B. G. 1, 2. For the gerundival dat. of purpose cf. 24, 42, m. *nata instaurandis reparandisque bellis.*

tegendis corr. ed. 1531: P *de- tegendis*, clearly a copyist's error, possibly due to *detegetur* § 8.

nuda, cf. 21, 37, 4; 28, 16, m. *in loco nudo*; so γυμνός in Pind. O. 3, 41.

et, explanatory, nearly = *et enim*, *scilicet*, 'there were, that is to say, in its windings' &c.; for *anfractibus* cf. 21, 37, 4; in both places vulg. reads *anf.*; so 38, 23, m.; cf. with present description Virg. A. 11, 522 *est curvo anfractu valles.*

cavae...ut, &c., 'so hollow that' &c.; cf. 43, 4. For a similar ambuscade in Campania cf. 23, 1, 6.

ducenos, distributive of cardinal numb. *ducenti*, '200 each', or 'apiece' = ἀνὰ διακοσίων.

7. *In has*, &c., note *in* with acc. implying motion—'into these hiding-places 5000 horse and foot

- 8 quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quin-
que milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi
tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor
armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret,
missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante
9 diximus, tumultum avertit oculos hostium. Primo
statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque
deposcere pellendos inde hostes. Ad locum capien-
dum dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad
10 arma vocat; et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio

are brought for concealment, each place being occupied by as large a number as it could conveniently hold'. For the construction cf. 23, 38, 7; so Cic. Att. 9, 19, 3 in *Aegyptum nos abdemus*; Madv. 230, 4: *quot &c.* is a condensed sentence for *tot in quemque locum conditis, quot &c.* C. and B.'s rendering—'wherever there was one (i.e. a hiding-place) which could be conveniently occupied'—hardly expresses this. For substantival use of *quot* cf. 21, 59, 9. For *insideo* cf. 21, 34, 9; ib. 54, 3. Plut. 11 tells us that the soldiers were hidden at night. Gron. following Pol. 3, 104, 4 *equites quingenti* (for *equitumque*); but possibly Liv. adopts some other authority.

8. *Necubi*, cf. 2, 3: *alicuius*, 'of some soldier'; for *aliquis* instead of *quis* cf. 21, 5, 2; but it is generally used for the sake of emphasis, as in 59, 10; cf. Rob. 2271. Luterb. says that *quisquam* is rarely found in negative final sentences; but an instance occurs § 14.

egressi, used conditionally, like *coorti*, 21, 32, 8; ib. 33, 9; 23, 44, 2, *dedituris*; cf. Madv. 347 c.

prima luce = *ἡ πρώτη βαθέος* N. T. Luc. xxiv. 1.

quem ante, &c., 'the above-mentioned hill'; note Latin idiom; thus also 'so called' = *qui vocatur*; cf. 21, 29, 2: so 1, 11, 'an opening in the sky'; Nägelsb. 120. The allusion is to § 3.

avertit, sc. *Hannibal*, which is to be somewhat awkwardly supplied from § 4.

9. *Primo s. c.*; these words recur 24, 5, 2; cf. 21, 4, 1; *statim* regularly follows *primus*.

deposcere, &c. 'begged for the task of dislodging (or 'permission to dislodge') the enemy'; for *deposco* as technical expression of gladiators, cf. 2, 49, in.; for *gerundive* cf. 54, 2; Rob. 1401.

hostes. Ad locum, P and all MSS.: I. Perizonius conj. *hostes ac l. capiendum*; *dux* (which, though ingenious, is unnecessary, while the repetition of *ac* is awkward): Bauer strikes out *ad l. c.* as a gloss. Perizon. quotes the parallel 42, 3 *ad persequ.*..... *Et consul &c.*

dux, i.e. Minucius.

inter s. f., 'conspicuous among the most senseless and headstrong'; cf. 7, 5, m. *stolide ferocem viribus*; Tac. A. 1, 3, 10.

ad arma v., cf. Virg. A. 7, 694; Cic. Rab. 7, 21.

Juc.

levem armaturam dimittit, deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et 11 Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia ut crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, prae- 12

minis, late MSS.: vulg. after P and one of best MSS. *animis et nimis*: many late MSS. read *animis* alone: the probable explanation seems to be that *minis* was wrongly written *nimis*, and the latter repeated, while a copyist, wishing to make sense, prefixed *a* to the first: then other copyists accepting *animis* struck out what followed as a repetition: for *vanae minae* cf. 4, 22, f.; Phaed. 3, 6, 11.

inrepat, cf. Hor. O. 4, 15, 2. Note the metrical rhythm *inrepat...armaturam*; cf. 21, 9, 3.

10. *dimittit*, 'he sends off,' sc. from the camp; cf. Plut. Fab. p. 180 ἀπέστειλε τὴν κόφην στρατιάν: Pol. l. c. ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ψιλοὺς. Fabri thinks it = sends off the infantry in different detachments to attack the enemy, while the cavalry march 'in close order'. Gronovius (followed by Madv.) strikes out the word, suggesting *emittit* or *immittit*; but cf. 21, 54, 4. The recurrence of this verb in this and the following section is certainly remarkable. A similar repetition of *venio* is found 21, 24, 4.

subsidia, 'reinforcements'; elsewhere Liv. uses it as opposed to *prima acies*; cf. 21, 46, 6; 29, 2, m.

instructis, &c., cf. Pol. l. c. αὐτὸς ἤγε συνεχῆ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὀπλῶν: for abl. cf. 21, 48, 4.

11. *laborantibus*, 'being hard-pressed'; cf. 6, 2; see also 33, 6.

alia atque alia (auxilia), 'again and again,' 'one after another'; cf. Pol. 3, 105 συνεχῶς ἐπαποστέλλων τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τοὺς βοηθήσοντάς.

ut crescente C: aut c. P (with another good MS.): vulg. after late MSS. omits *ut*: Madv. adopts Wölfflin's conj. *incresciente* (cf. 10, 5, 2): render 'as was natural, while the contest was growing fiercer'; cf. 27, 48, m.; 37, 38, f. *crescente certamine*: for this sense of *ut* cf. 34, 52, f. *ut exercitu deportato*; see also 21, 36, 7; 25, 20, m. where *ut*=*utpote*. Wfl. objects to it on the ground that *ut*=*ut par erat* is rarely found except when followed by a prep. beginning with a vowel; cf. 21, 7, 7; ib. 34, 1 (but see my note on former passage).

iam iustam, &c., 'had already formed a complete line of battle'; for *iustam*, cf. § 13; 21, 8, 7; for *expleo* cf. 23, 5, 5.

certatur, P and nearly all MSS.: Vulg. *certabatur*.

12. *Prima*, logically connected with *succedens* or *pulsa* &c.: some wrongly interpret it as = 'who were in the front' (or vanguard); cf. 31, 8; for the use of *primus* as secondary predicate, cf. Madv. 447; Rob. 1017 c.

occupatum inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem
 13 et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percussos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies

inferiore, &c., 'mounting the hill from the lower ground': Madv. prefixes *ex*; but for simple abl., cf. 25, 7; 1, 9; Rob. 1260: for acc. cf. 27, 18, 13; 31, 45, 5 *succedentium muros*, for which we find *subeuntium muros* 7, 12, in. (Scheller is clearly wrong in making *succedo* in text = to approach, which is here proved by *detrusa*.) Liv. frequently uses the acc. where Caes. and Cic. have the dat. or a prep. following verb; cf. 12, 5; 43, 11; 21, 30, 2; ib. 32, 13; ib. 46, 9.

detrusa, 'dislodged'; cf. 2, 10, 10; for synonymous expression cf. 24, 7; 31, 39, f. *deturbo*; Caes. B. G. 7, 49 *depello*.

succedentem = *subsequentem*, which Madv. suggests here; but the repetition is a characteristic of Livy; cf. 1, 3, 9; ib. 56, 9. Note unusual construction *intulit ter. in* instead of dat. of pers.; cf. Caes. B. G. 7, 8; so *sibi iniecto terrore* Cic. Fin. 5, 11, 31; cf. Virg. A. 1, 6.

13. *inter percussos*, 'whilst the rest were panic-stricken', or 'amidst the rout', C. and B.; cf. 21, 30, 5; 34, 9, 4.

videbaturque, &c., 'and seemed likely, if it were a regular and pitched battle, to be quite a match for the enemy'; for a variation in the construction, cf. 21, 1; for *iusta*, cf. § 11, op. *tumultuarium proelium*, 41, 1; 35, 4, m.; *recta*, 'front to front', 'in face of the enemy', op. *in-*

sidiatores, and attacks *in latera ab tergoque*, § 14. P and two of the best MSS. read *ac si recta* (so Fab., explaining the repetition of the particle as emphasizing the difference of the epithets): Wf. brackets *si*: vulg. with late MSS. *aut si*: Madv. *ac directa*. See 35, 4, f. *recto ac iusto proelio*; 34, 28, f. *velut rectae acies concurrissent, iustum aliquandiu proelium fuit*. With *futura* it seems better to supply *ped. acies* (the heavy armed, op. *lev. arm.* § 12) than *pugna*, notwithstanding 18, 4; 28, 15, 1.

tantum, &c., 'so much courage did the successful engagement of a few days before inspire'; cf. 27, 4; for the phrase cf. 26, 1. In the expression *ante paucos dies* it seems preferable to regard *ante* as a prep. than as an adv., analogous to the use of the Germ. prep. *vor* (here = *vor einigen Tagen*); *ante* is also found between the subst. and adj., cf. 31, 24, m. *dies ante paucos*; we also find it used adverbially with abl., as *paucis ante diebus*, Cic. Fam. 4, 9: so also *post dies paucos*, 37, 13, m. Kühnast 365. Late Greek authors, borrowing the Latin idiom, evidently regarded *ante* as a prep. when followed by acc., cf. Plut. Caes. 63 *πρὸ μᾶς ἡμέρας*; cf. Rob. 1848. The 'successful engagement' is that mentioned 24, 8 sqq., though Weiss. refers it to 8, 6.

res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

XXIX. *Fabius, perceiving the disorder of the Romans, hastens to the rescue of his colleague, causing the Carthaginians to retreat. Minucius, repenting of his error, summons his troops to unite with those of Fabius.*

Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito, I dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est" inquit; "non celerius, quam timui, deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et vir-

14. *insidiatores*, cf. 28, 5. *eum...ut*, 'such...that'; cf. 3, 53, in. *ea postulavit, ut appareret*; 8, 13, in.: *ab tergoque*, for position of enclitic cf. 17, 2. *neque animus* edd. before Al-dus: *P necui animus: animus ad p...ad f. spes*, note Chiasmus, emphasizing the contrast; cf. 31, 4; 21, 21, 11. Liv. has a remarkable instance in 9, 12, 3, where the chiasitic formation extends to three members of the sentence; for other references cf. Nägelsb. 538: Kühn. 326.

ad fugam, this construction, instead of gen., is due to preceding member; but cf. Cic. Att. 15, 20, 2.

1. *Fabius*, &c. Weiss. supposes that Liv. is here copying from Caelius, whose authority was Fabius Pictor, as the latter would naturally dwell upon his kinsman's services.

paventium, for Livy's frequent use of part. as subst. cf. 7, 12; 42, 2; 21, 13, 2.

Ita est, 'yes' ('just as I thought' or 'there it is'), con-

firmiting a foregoing reflection, cf. 27, 8. On the distinction between *ita* and *itaque*, cf. Nägelsb. 629. Cf. τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖνο, Eur. Hel. 622; τόδ' ἐκεῖνο, ib. Med. 98.

non celerius, 'just as quickly as I feared' (the phrase is to be explained thus—'quickly indeed, but not more quickly' &c.). Plut. Fab. 12 however says, τάχιστα μὲν ἢ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ' ἢ αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε Μινούκιος ἐαυτὸν ἀπολώλεκε: hence Stroth would strike out *non*, so Bauer, on the ground that we should expect *non tardius*.

deprendit (vulg. *deprehendit*), 'has overtaken': *fortuna*, sc. *adversa*; Fabius, on the other hand, would not rely upon fortune or chance for success; cf. 12, 2.

2. *Fabio*, i.e. F. is no longer his master, but H. is. For Lucian's estimate of Hannibal cf. D. M. 12, 7.

aequatus, sc. Minucius, from allusion in *temeritatem*: for abl. *imperio*, cf. Virg. A. 7, 698; in 28,

tute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte; victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies re-
4 pente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Ita-

40, f. we find *quo minus magistro equitum imperium aequaretur*; Rob. 1210.

virtute et fortuna, cf. 27, 4.

iurgandi s. t. ('time for censure and resentment'), for a like construction cf. 39, 9: *iurgo*=*iure ago* is a legal term = to sue at law, especially neighbours, op. *litigo*; but often = *obiurgo*: *iurgium* is strictly a dispute in words, *rixa*=a dispute carried on with blows; cf. Tac. H. 1, 64; Hor. O. 1, 18, 8.

signa...proferte, 'advance'; cf. 42, 3; 9, 32, 5 *signa extra vallum proferr*; see also § 5: for *signa*= 'standards', *σημεία*, cf. 3, 11; for another meaning, cf. 3, 9; 21, 14, 3. *Signa* were properly the standards of cohorts, *vexilla* those of their subdivisions *manipuli*, while *aquila* was the standard of the entire legion. Constantine however adopted the *Labarum* surmounted by the monogram of Christ as the imperial standard: see Gibbon, 2, 351 (Bohn).

extorqueamus, cf. 36, 45, m. *confessionem victis...expres-*
runt; but after both verbs Cic. Prov. 3 has *ab*. For dat. *hosti*, &c. cf. Tac. A. 6, 23 *extrac-*
tum custodiae. See also 21, 40, 2.

civibus, 'fellow-citizens', 'our countrymen': as *civis*=*concivis*, so *πολιτης*=*συμπολιτης*: cf. 6, 18, m.; Hor. Ep. 1, 1, 53; Ov. F. 3, 282. The expression here probably includes the troops of

Minucius as well as the citizens of Rome, who had acted imprudently in depriving Fabius of his supreme command. Cf. 23, 3.

3. *magna e. p.* refers to both members—'when already many had been slain, and many others were looking about them for a way to escape'; cf. 15, 2. Pol. 3, 105, 6 says that the loss was greater among the legionary troops than among the light-armed—*πολλοὺς ἀπολωλεκότες τῶν εὐζώνων, ἔτι δὲ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας*. The first *alii* is wanting in most MSS., which may be defended by 3, 37, f. *virgis caedi, alii securi subici*: so in correlation of *μέν...δέ*, the first is often omitted; cf. Thuc. 4, 85, 4 (*οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῶ...*); Hom. II. 22, 157; Plat. Phil. 35.

velut...demissa, cf. 17, 2; for a different construction cf. 21, 16, 2. For the simple *abl.*=motion from, cf. 1, 9; 8, 9, 10 *sicut caelo missus*; the regular form occurs 10, 8, f. *de caelo demissos*. In Greek and Latin authors 'heaven-sent'=miraculous, is also used sarcastically, as in 7, 12, f.; Iuv. 2, 40; ib. 11, 27; Dem. Cher. 96, 15. See also 6, 18, m. Livy's words in text recur in Quint. 1, 6, 16. Silius (7, 536—729) without historical testimony represents Fabius as defeating the Carthaginians in a pitched battle.

que priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, quum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

ad auxilium, to be joined with *demissa*: vulg. wrongly puts comma after latter; so C. and B., rendering 'appeared to help them'; cf. 4, 29, f. *ad auxilium quum redissent*; Tac. A. 14, 26. See 24, 12.

4. *ad coniectum t.*, cf. 15, 8. The meaning is that the mere appearance of the Fabian troops checked the flight of the soldiers of Minucius, without a blow being struck. The regular subject is *acies*, though *Fabius* might be supplied from *Fabiana*. For imperf. subj. after *priusquam*, cf. 4, 7; 8, 1; 21, 47, 3; ib. 61, 1; 1, 14, 11; Rob. 1672. For *manum c.*, cf. 21, 1, 2; ib. 39, 3.

suos...hostes, for chiasmus cf. 21, 21, 11.

effusa, 'precipitate'; for other uses of *effundi*, cf. 3, 11; 19, 6; 43, 11; 21, 25, 8.

ab nimis, M(2nd hand): *animis* (C 2nd h.): P, C, M *ab animis*.

5. *Qui*, &c., 'when the ranks had been broken and the men scattered hither and thither': *vage* (= *sparsim*, *πλανομένως*) occurs only here, 26, 39, f., and in Cornificius (?) ad Herennium.

integram a., sc. *Fabianam*,

'the unbroken line'; cf. *infra*; 9, 41, m. *integrae a cladibus*.

plures simul, 'in a body', op. *vage dissipati*: for *terga d.* cf. 36, 38, m.

conversi, &c., 'wheeling round to face the enemy and forming square (lit. a circle), at one time slowly retired, at another stood firm in close ranks'. On *orbem* cf. 21, 56, 2; 4, 28, 3: *sensim* (*σχολῆ*) = lit. in a manner just perceptible, which Doederlein refers to the beholders, while *paulatim* and *pedetentim* belong to the object advancing; cf. 21, 54, 4; he also distinguishes *resto* = to maintain one's position, standing on the defensive, from *resisto* = to press forward against the enemy.

6. *Poenus* = *Poeni*, of course including the general.

receptui, for the predicative dat., cf. 21, 59, 5.

palam ferente, 'openly declared', cf. 29, 32, f. *palam iam quis esset ferens*; for this use of *fero*, cf. 14, 15; also Cic. Att. 13, 2 *laetitiam apertissime tulimus*; so *palam proferimus*, Ter. Adelp. 3, 2, 41; cf. op. *occulte fert* ib. 3, 2, 30; similarly *φέρεται* = *fertur*. See 30, 7.

- 7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta,
 8 quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis
 8 militibus, "Saepe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum
 primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem
 sit, secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat; qui
 9 nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum ex-
 tremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi in-
 geniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus
 et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in

Fabio, for Hannibal's recognition of this general's excellence cf. 12, 5; 30, 8; 21, 39, 8. With the statement cf. Eutrop. 3, 9, f. is (*Fabius*) *eum*, *deferendo pugnam, ab impetu fregit: mox, inventa occasione, vicit.*

7. *per v. f....exacta*, cf. 18, 9.

8. *Saepe ego*, for position of pron., cf. 21, 21, 3.

primum=optimum, cf. 21, 4, 8; 9, 1, in. p. *bellatorem*. The sentiment is borrowed from Hes. *Εργ. κ. 'Ημ. 291—295, οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ, Φρασσαμένος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ᾗσιν ἀμείνω*. 'Εσθλὸς δ' αὖ κάκεϊνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πύθεται. 'Ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοήῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων 'Εν θυμῷ βάλλεται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀρχήϊος ἀνὴρ. The passage is quoted by Arist. Eth. 1, 4, 7 (with omission of second line, see Grant *ad locum*: in first line Hesiod reads αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ?); but αὐτὸς is read by Diog. Laert. 7, 25, who states that Zeno transposed the concluding portions of lines 1 and 3); while the thought is borrowed by Cic. Cluent. 31, in.; Herod. 7, 16, 1; Soph. Antig. 720. Cf. also Mart. Spect. 31, 1. Proclus tells us that the Socratic Aristippus maintained that to stand in need of a counsellor was worse than

being a beggar. The literary knowledge here implied probably belongs to the historian rather than to the general.

in rem (P with several MSS. has *re*), cf. 3, 2; for *res=commodum* cf. 1, 27, 6: in the same sense we find *ob rem, ex re.*

consulere, 'to give counsel': for absolute use cf. 21, 16, 2; 1, 32, 10.

sciat M²: P, C, and M¹ *nesciat*: cf. 51, 4, for the construction.

extremi, correlating to *primum*, 'of the lowest intelligence' or 'meanest capacity': for the gen. cf. 21, 52, 2.

9. *Nobis*, for position cf. 6, 2; 21, 18, 3; the noun or pronoun being frequently inserted in subordinate sentence, when belonging also to the principal clause: *quoniam*, a late MS. reads *quia*.

animi ingeniique. Fabri refers to Livy's frequent combination of these words in the sense respectively of mental activity and productive capacity; cf. 9, 17, m.; 25, 37, in.

sors, 'rank'; the following *ac* is explanatory, = 'that is to say'.

dum, regularly with pres. indic., cf. Rob. 1663, archaically with fut., cf. Virg. A. 1, 607—8. *imperare ... parere*: Livy is

animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus. 10
Ad praetorium eius signa quum tulerimus, ubi ego
eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio eius erga
nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos, 11
quorum vos modo arma ac dexteræ texerunt, patronos
salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis
animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

fond of this distinction; cf. 21, 11. *ac dexteræ* Madv., vulg. 4, 3; Xen. Anab. 1, 9, 4. Cf. *dextraeque*: P *arma dexteræ*, so Solon ap. Stob. Serm. 44 ἀρχε, Heerw.; for asyndeton cf. 22, πρώτον μαθὼν ἀρχεσθαι ἀρχεσθαι 19; 21, 28, 2; ib. 46, 4.

γὰρ μαθὼν, ἀρχεῖν ἐπιστήσῃ. *patronos* ('authors of your freedom') *salutabitis*, cf. 30, 2; in *animum*, &c., 'let us make up our minds': while Liv. always uses the prep., Cic. usually omits it; but cf. Cic. Sull. 30, 83. For the common use of this phrase in Ter. cf. Hec. 1, 2, 24.

10. *cum Fabio*, brachylogy for *cum castris Fabii*; cf. 21, 4, 8. Kühnast 281.

praetorium, 'head-quarters': the standards (*ἀετοί*) were fixed in the ground near the altar in front of the general's tent in the camp. The military use of the word *signum* has been accounted for by the figures of eagles, wolves, boars, &c. employed, or from their serving as marks to indicate the positions of the several bodies of troops.

quum (cum) tulerimus late MSS., P *contulerimus*: *signa ferre* usually = 'to break up the camp', cf. 10, 5, 1.

parentem = *patrem*, but used as term of greater dignity, like *parenti urbis*, 4, 3, 12. Cf. Plut. Fab. 181; Sil. 7, 735; 8, 2; 9, 565. Iuv. 8, 243—4 applies both appellations to Cicero. So Claud. Stilich. 3, 51.

maiestate...dignum, 'due to his dignity'.

si nihil aliud (like *εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο*, Plat. Rep. 6, 502, A) = *saltem*, by which it is strengthened Cic. Verr. 1, 58, often without *certe*, cf. 33, 44, f.: so *nihil aliud quam* = *solum* 2, 32, 8. Bauer unnecessarily suggests *ut* for *et* before *si*.

gratorum ... animorum, 'gratitude', so *ingratus animus* = 'ingratitude', *gratitudo* being wrongly read in some edd. of Val. Max. 5, 2, while *ingratitude* is not found prob. before Firmicus in 4th cent. Nägelsb. 31, 2 quotes Cic. Off. 1, 15, 47 *referenda gratia* and Senec. Ep. 74, 13 *relatio gratiae*, where not the mental state, but the active expression of it, is intended. Cf. Cic. Planc. 32, 78 *beneficii gratia*.

hic P and best MSS., vulg. *haec*. For fut. perf. *dederit* cf. 25, 38, a. f.

XXX. *Minucius marches to the camp of Fabius, where he craves pardon for his error. Popularity of Fabius at Rome and admiration felt for him among the Carthaginians. Hannibal's gloomy forebodings.*

- 1 Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes *ad* dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, con-
- 2 verterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfususque militum eius

1. *conclamatur*, 'the word is given'; cf. Caes. B. C. 1, 66, 2, where we find the elliptical *vasa conclamari*=the order to be given to pack up and march, in which sense we find *conclamari* alone, Caes. B. C. 1, 67; 3, 76. For its religious meaning cf. L. 4, 40, in. For *vasa*=*impedimenta*, *sarcinae* cf. 21, 47, 2.

agmine—'in order of march', 'in regular array' C. & B. Livy frequently uses this abl. without *cum* adverbially with a verb, cf. 28, 10; 1, 6, 2; 21, 35, 1: so Cic. Mil. 10: Sall. I. 46, 6. For other ablatives used without adjectival predicates, cf. Rob. 1239.

ad. This prep. was inserted in the pre-Aldine edd., having no MS. authority: P has *di|||catoris*, exhibiting an erasure, whence Heerw. conj. that the copyist had written *diadecatoris*, inserting the prep. instead of prefixing it. The Tacitean use of acc. after *incedo* (cf. Tac. A. 1, 61, in.) is not found in Livy. Madv. reads *per*.

in admirationem, &c., 'excited his surprise': cf. 21, 3, 4; ib.

36, 3. Livy apparently only uses the cognate verb in a pregnant sense, cf. 29, 24, in.

qui circa erant, like *οἱ περὶ Ἀρκαίων* Xen. An. 2, 4, 2: here it refers to the chief officers, lieutenant-generals, military tribunes, &c.

2. *tribunal* (Gr. *βήμα*); the tribunal, like the *suggestus*, was an elevated platform of turf or stone, and stood in front of the *praetorium* (21, 3, 1) near the *ara*, and fronting the *Via Praetoria*. The standards were planted here when the general delivered his *allocutio* (see 8, 32, 2). Cf. Tac. H. 4, 5. For the narrative cf. Plut. Fab. 13.

alios=*ceteros*, *reliquos*, cf. 21, 27, 6; 1, 12, 9; so occasionally *ἄλλοι*=*οἱ ἄλλοι*, cf. Hom. Il. 2, 1: see Plat. Rep. 5, 465, B. For a peculiar use, cf. L. 4, 41, 8 and Hom. Od. 1, 32. Kühn. 57.

patrem, cf. 29, 10. *circumfususque*, &c., 'such of his (i.e. Fabius') soldiers as pressed around them'; for the partitive genitive cf. 15, 10; 40, 6; 26, 5, in. *cum delectis peditum*; so in Gr. Cf. Xen. An. 1, 7, 13.

totum agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" 3 inquit "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi quum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque 4 plebeiscitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihi-

agmen, sc. *Minucii*; cf. *agmine* § 1. For *patronos* cf. 29, 11: for *consalutasset* cf. 1, 7, 1.

3. *meis* Aldus: P *mediis* (owing to first syllable of *dictator*).

quibus, &c., 'with whom I have just now put thee on a level by this name, and it is all that words can do', i.e. now; but later on he will show his gratitude by deeds: *quod* sc. *facere*, i.e. *parentibus meis te nomine aequare*; *quod* is conj. of J. Voss: P *quo* (so vulg.) sc. *parentibus meis te aequare*; it is impossible to agree with Walch that *quo*=*quod* by attraction, which is a Gr. idiom; cf. Xen. An. 1, 7, 3. Cf. Plut. Fab. 13 (p. 181) τιμωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσήγοιαν.

quum...tum, 'as well...as', cf. 21, 52, 7.

4. *plebeiscitum*, note archaic form of Gen.; cf. 10, 21, m.; Cic. Dom. 17, m.; Liv. 2, 33, in. *tribuni plebei*; 3, 64, f.; for which we find *plebi* 2, 56, 1.

quo oneratus, &c., 'which has been onerous rather than an honour to me'. For the play on the words combined with Homoioteleuton cf. 21, 24, 4; ib. 41, 17; Kühn. Liv. Syn. 330—331; Ov. Her. 9, 31; Varr. L. L. 5, 73 *onus est honos, qui sustinet rempublicam*: Rutilius 3, f. *non honori sed oneri*. Livy is fond of this rhetorical artifice: cf. 1, 58, 8; 7, 40, in.; 8, 38, f. See examples given by Quint. 9, 3,

71—73, 76—77; Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 21; Lucr. p. 325 Munro; Iuv. 11, 195; Cic. Cat. 1, 11. Archiv für Lat. Lex. 1, 384. Cf. Gregory's remark about the English slaves, *non Angli sed angeli*. Aristophanes is full of such examples, cf. Eq. 1060.

sum, inserted here by Weiss., in vulg. after *honoratus*, but wanting in P and most MSS.

primus, &c., 'I am the first to reject and repeal'.

antiquo=lit. 'I restore to its ancient state', or vote for the old law, a phrase applied to the rejection of a bill, and denoted on voting tablets (*tabellae*) by A (op. U. R.=*uti rogas*), while *abrogo*=I repeal an existing law by a proposal (*rogatio*) to the people. Note that *antiquo*: *antiquus* :: *veto*: *vetus*. On the legal terms *rogo* and its compounds with *ab*, *de*, *ob*, *sub* cf. Diet. Ant. p. 682; so *exrogo*. Cf. 4, 58, f.; 5, 30, f. With the narrative cf. the compulsory abdication of the consul L. Minucius 3, 29, in.

quod, &c., 'praying that this may turn out well for you' &c.: *sit*=optative or jussive subjunctive (= *utinam sit*), cf. 3, 54, m. *quod bonum felix faustumque sit vobis*; so 1, 17, 10; 1, 28, 7; Rob. 1588. Cic. Divin. 1, 45, 102 tells us that the Romans used this formula *quod bonum, faustum, felix fortunatumque esset* in every undertaking.

que [quod] exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum
 5 redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos
 6 quemque tenere iubeas." Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex

[quod] is usually bracketed (1) on account of following *que*, which is not justified by Anaphora (cf. 38, 17, m. *quosque viros*), (2) because in such formulae the repetition is not usual. Luterb., with several MSS., retains it, rejecting *que* after *exerc.* Duk. conj. *quodque*.

exercitibusque, late MSS.: P *exercitusq.* (concluding line — hence Heerw. thinks something has dropped out, and conj. *utrisque* instead of *que*): C *exercituique*. The plural is used, as Minucius now regards his own army as that of Fabius.

servato, sc. *exercitui*: for sing. of component parts cf. 23, 6. On verbals in *-tor* representing perf. part. act. cf. 21, 43, 15; Nägelsb. 163. Livy has a partiality for them; cf. Kühn. 336.

auspicium (= *avispicium*, Gr. *ὀρνισμός*), cf. 21, 40, 3. Servius distinguishes this from *augurium*, in that the former is given by all birds, the latter only by certain of these. Plaut. Asin. 2, 1, 15.

5. *me magisterium* (9, 26, f.) ...*tenere*, 'me to retain my mastership of the horse, and these soldiers severally their ranks'. P, with nearly all MSS., has contraction *mag.* and *ordinibus suis* which Gron. corrected as in text. Minucius probably thought

of the punishment of his namesake, who was degraded from the rank of consul to that of *legatus* by Cincinnatus, in B.C. 458: see 3, 29, 1. He also wished his men to retain their legionary ranks (27, 46, 5) as officers (*centuriones*) or privates among the *hastati*, *principes* or *triarii*, from which the Roman soldiers taken by Pyrrhus had been degraded. Cf. Front. 4, 1, 18. Heerw. however denies that these cases are parallel (as there was no lack of capacity or courage, only ill luck, neither had Fabius power against his equal in command), and reads *magistrum...ordinibus suis...tendere* = *tentoria habere*, cf. 31, 34, f. *tendentium ordine*; Virg. A. 2, 29. For *suos quemque*, cf. 21, 32, 10; ib. 48, 2; 23, 22, 3. Nägelsb. 299, 5.

6. *interiunctae*, 'joined together', a word first used here: similar instances are cited 21, 35, 1. Kühn. 381.

laetusque, &c., 'and so this day, which but a few hours previously had been one of exceeding sadness and almost disastrous ruin, became a day of joy'. This had been an eventful one since daybreak, cf. 28, 8: *tristi*, applied to things, cf. 61, 3; 21, 12, 4: *exsecrabili*, lit. 'accursed' = (*dies*) *nefastus*, *ater*, like that on which the battle of Allia took place; cf. 50, 1; 6, 1, 11.

admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris 7 non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Par gloria apud 8 Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites 9 spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus ac-

7. *Romae*, locative (from which *Romam* is to be supplied after *perlata*): cf. 59, 10; Madv. 296; Rob. 1168. Verbs compounded with *per* are frequently used absolutely, as here; cf. 18, 2; Caes. B. G. 5, 23, f. *perduxit*.

vulgo, 'generally', adv.: Gron. needlessly conj. *vulgi*; cf. 12, 12: *affirmata*, 'confirmed', cf. 1, 1, 10; 2, 12, in. *crimen affirmanti*.

pro se, &c., 'every one individually extolled (Fabius) M. to the skies'; cf. 2, 49, 1; 9, 10, 3. Fabius was called 'the shield of the people', as Marcellus was called 'the sword of the people'; cf. Plut. Fab. p. 185; Flor. 2, 6. Hence the Romans accorded the highest military honour to him, viz. a crown of grass, which was usually granted only when a city had been released from a blockade (*corona obsidionalis*); cf. A. Gell. 5, 6; Liv. 7, 37, in. This was given by the soldiers to their commander, while all others were given by the commander to the soldiers; Plin. 22, 4. For Ennius' celebrated words, cf. 8, 6.

8. *Par* (so P): sc. *Fabii*; *gloria* may be either nom. or abl. Weiss. after Pavlikovskii reads *pār* = abl. of description qualify-

ing *erat*, cf. 22, 10; Rob. 1232. The statement in text is justified by § 10.

Note generalizing force of *-que*; cf. 14, 10; 21, 53, 11 *taliaque*.

sentire, sc. *Poeni*; note change of subject: Weiss. needlessly prefixes *hi*: for Historic infin. cf. 29, 5; 42, 4; 21, 49, 7. Livy employs it less often, relatively speaking, than Sall.; cf. Kühn. 245.

9. *biennio ante*, 'during the last two years'; cf. 33, 1. This is hardly accurate, as the defeat on the Ticinus first brought Rome into discredit, and this was only a year ago. Cf. 21, ch. 46. For the adjectival use of the adv. (here *ante* = *praeterito*) cf. 21, 7, 5. For abl. of duration, or time in the course of which, cf. 60, 10; 61, 9; 21, 2, 2; ib. 4, 10; Rob. 1182. See also MS. reading in 21, 58, 1 (altered by Alsch., Gron. &c., though we find 24, 28, in. *quinquaginta annis.....expertam amicitiam*). Kühn. 182.

duces, as this includes Scipio, Wölfl. suspects a trace of the Fabian historian and partizan: with *milites* we must supply *Romanos*, cf. 21, 19, 10.

terribilem, P adds *eam*, which Madv. strikes out: Fab. and H.

- 10 cepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

XXXI. *The consul Servilius Geminus makes a descent upon the African coast, but through his imprudence is defeated. Fabius summons him and Atilius to take the command of his army. Was Caelius correct in calling Fabius dictator? Livy's solution of the difficulty.*

- 1 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe *centum viginti* navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus

with vulg. retain it; cf. 26, 27, authorities for his life; cf. Cic. 11 *eo animo erga populum*: Perizonius conj. *tam terr.* The reference is of course to the First Punic War, concluded 24 years previously.

10. *ferunt.* Plutarch Fab. 12 attributes this observation to the occasion described by Liv. 29, 6. Plin. 18, 35, 82 thus translates Plut. *quum in cacuminibus montium nubes considit, hiemabit: si cacumina pura fient, dissere-nabit.* For the simile cf. Hom. II. 5, 522.

cum procella, &c., 'has burst upon us in rain and storm', cf. 40, 2, 1 *atrox cum vento tempestas*; in 6, 8, 7 we find abl. without *cum*: note *dedisse* for *edidisse, fecisse*; cf. 21, 32, 8; Lucr. 4, 41 (Munro); Plaut. Ps. 1, 1, 108.

1. *Servilius*, cf. 1, 4; 11, 2 and 7; 32, 1; 40, 6; 43, 8; 45, 8; 49, 16; 21, 15, 6; ib. 57, 4; Momms. 2, 118 sqq. Besides Livy, Polybius 3, 75—116 and Appian, Hann. 8—24 are the original

centum viginti (wanting in MSS.) from Lips. after Pol. 3, 96, 10, 11. Lipsius rightly observes that if Liv. had meant to omit the number, he would not have added *navium*.

Sardiniae. Polybius l. c. states that the Carthaginian fleet lay off this island; cf. 11, 6; also 21, 1, 5; ib. 16, 4; ib. 40, 5. Pol. describes Sardinia (ἡ Σαρδῶ) as remarkable for its size, population and products, but its climate was bad; cf. Mart. 4, 60, 6; Mela 2, 7, 19; Paus. 10, 17, 11 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα διὰ μέσης αὐτῆς ὄρη χθαμαλότερα· ὁ δὲ ἀήρ ὁ ἐνταῦθα θολερός τε ὡς ἐπίπαν ἔστι καὶ νοσώδης.* Sil. It. 12, 355 sqq. says it was originally called Ichnusa, from its resemblance to the sole of the foot (ἰχθυος). For the subsequent negotiations between Sardinia and Carthage,

utrinque acceptis, in Africam transmisit, et, prius-
quam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige
insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et
ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis
argenti acceptis, ad litora Africae accessit copiasque
exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites 3

and the reduction of the island by the Romans, cf. 23, 32, 7—12; ib. ch. 40 and 41.

Corsicae, cf. 21, 16, 4. Corsica (ἡ Κύπρος) fell under the sway of the Greeks, Tyrrhenians, Carthaginians and Romans in succession; but the latter established their power only over the sea-coast. The philosopher L. Seneca was banished to this island by Claudius A.D. 41. In his epigrams (p. 67—68 ed. Lips.) he expatiates on the aridity and unproductiveness of the soil. Diod. 5, 13 speaks of its excellent harbour, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ νῆσος εὐπροσδρυστος οὖσα, κάλλιστον ἔχει λιμένα, τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Συρακούσιον. On its bad honey cf. Virg. Ec. 9, 30.

utrinque, 'from both islands' (lit. 'from both sides').

in A. transmisit, sc. *se*, cf. 20, 7; 21, 17, 6 (where Rup. supplies *eas*); 8, 24, in.: so *traiecit* 21, 51, 1. This use is not limited to a personal subject, cf. 30, 24, 14 *naves in Africam transmisserunt*.

2. *continentem*, sc. *terram*, 'mainland'; for fem. adj.=subst. cf. 21, 8, 1; Rob. 1063: for *escensionem* (vulg. *exscensiones*: P *escensiones*) cf. 21, 51, 4; 27, 29, f.; 44, 10, f. Similar predatory descents are attributed to Scipio 20, 4; cf. Zon. 8. Pol. 3, 96 does not mention this coast attack.

On the subj. implying intention cf. 21, 14, 1; Madv. 360.

Menige: the usual form of abl. is *Meninge*, cf. Sil. 3, 318. *Meninx* (mod. Djerba) lay south of the Lesser Syrtis, near the African coast. It was the famous island of the Lotophagi, whence its other name *Lotophagitis*, and it still produces the lotus-tree; cf. Hom. Od. 9, 84. Pol. l. c. substitutes *Cossyra* for *Meninx*, without referring to the predatory attack on Africa, which finds its counterpart in that of Scipio 20, 4.

incolentibus C., on Livy's frequent use of part.=subst. with gen. cf. 22, 11; 21, 57, 14; Kühn. 264 sqq.

Cercinam, *Cercina* (mod. Kerkena or Kerkein) was an island north of the Lesser Syrtis; cf. 33, 48 *passim*; Tac. A. 1, 53; ib. 4, 13; Hirt. B. A. 8. The reading is due to Sigonius on authority of Pol.; P has *circanā*: the other MSS. *circa eam*.

decem talentis = £2437. 10s. (reckoning the talent at £243. 15s.); cf. 21, 16, 11. The *τάλαντον*, like the Roman *libra* and the English *pound*, shows that the money system is based upon one of weight. The usual mode of reckoning at this period was that given 21, 62, 8; cf. ib. 48, 9; 22, 1, 17; 27, 10, 11.

exposuit, 'landed'; cf. 10, 2, in.; 24, 40, in. *expositis in terram militibus*; 34, 8, f.; 37, 28, f. *armatis in litora expositis*: for another meaning cf. 7, 31, f.

navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in insulis cultorum
 4 egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere
 illati, quum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum
 gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac
 5 foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille

3. *navalesq. s.*, 'seamen'; cf. 21, 49, 8.

iuxta, &c., 'dispersed themselves just as if they were plundering in uninhabited islands': *iuxta ac si* is ἀπαξ λεγ. in Livy (though found in Sall. I. 45, 2; Cic. p. Red. in Sen. 8, 20), who uses the form *iuxta...ac* or *atque* = 'equally...as'; cf. 32, 5; 21, 33, 4; 1, 54, 9, infr. 37, 10. Vulg. omits *in*, which is due to Weiss., though vulg. might be supported by 21, 32, 13; cf. ib. 28, 7. On *ac* in comparative sense after adjs. and advs. of likeness and equality or their opposites cf. Madv. 44, 4, b. So in Gr. παραπλήσια ἐπεπόνθησαν καὶ ἔδρασαν Thuc. 7, 71; Madv. G. S. 185.

cultorum eg., cf. 21, 34, 1. What would be the objection to *incultis* instead of the periphrasis?

4. *temere* = ἐκῆ, 'rashly', 'carelessly': though the final *e* is marked long in the Gradus, the word is given unmarked in most dictionaries, as it is invariably elided in the poets, with the exception of Plautus and Terence; cf. Pl. Bac. 4, 7, 81. Peile Etym. 100 considers it = 'in the dark' (*temasē*), the final *e* being naturally long, while the Augustan tendency was to shorten (cf. *supernē*, *infernē* Lucr. 6, 596), hence the difficulty was compromised by elision.

a frequentibus, 'by the enemy en masse'; cf. 33, 15, in *in vagos*

palatosque impetum fecerant; 21, 61, 2: *palantes* = 'straggling' from the main body.

p. ab l., &c., vulg. after Gron.: *P ad locorum et ignari gnaris c.*: Weiss. *p. et ign. ab l. g.* On chiasmic form cf. 21, 21, 11. For *circumvenio* applied to a hostile attack, usually accompanied with stratagem, cf. 8, 1; 21, 34, 1. For a similar passage cf. Tac. Agr. 37 m. *collecti incautos et locorum ignaros circumveniebant. cum...fuga*, cf. 21, 61, 2.

5. *Ad mille*: we may regard this either as an abbreviation for *militibus ad m. h.*, and the whole expression as abl. while *mille* = acc. (so *supra quinque millia* 23, 37, 13 = nom. while *millia* = acc.) or consider *ad* as an adv. not affecting the following abl. The latter seems the more probable from Caes. B. G. 2, 33 *occisis ad hominum milibus* (not *milia*); cf. 41, 2; 21, 59, 1; ib. 61, 1; 43, 23, m. *ad mille occisis*; 27, 8, 13 *ad mille trecenti*. Lucilius uses the abl. in form *milli* (Gell. 1, 16, 12): *mille* is generally nom. or acc.; cf. 37, 8. Cf. use of *eis* and *us* as numerals, Aesch. Per. 339; Herod. 7, 30. So also *admodum* 24, 14: *quasi* Plaut. Most. 3, 1, 91. Kühn. 360; *amissis* is to be supplied from following *amisso*. I would suggest the insertion of *et* before *cum*, which might easily have dropped out. For a peculiar idiomatic use of part. pass. cf. 20, 6; 6, 17, m.

hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut

iis: vulg. *his*. Doujat strikes out the pron. and reads with P and one of the best MSS. *amissum*, putting full stop after the word: so Müll. Gron. retains *his* and supplies *existante* with *quaestore*. For this use of *cum* cf. 21, 47, 6. For *amisso* instead of *amissis* cf. 45, 7.

soluta, 'having set sail'; cf. Hor. Epod. 10, 1. The phrase is strictly *solvere ancoram* or *retinacula*. Cf. Luc. 4, 583.

in *S. cursum tenuit*, 'proceeded to' (lit. 'directed its course towards'); cf. 21, 49, 2.

6. *traditaque*: some putting a comma after *reduceretur* make this abl. with *classe* understood; cf. 21, 43, 4; ib. 57, 3.

Lilybaei, cf. 21, 49, and 9; ib. 50, 10—11. In this important naval-station of the Romans there were now 50 ships of war (cf. 21, 51, 6 with ib. 49, 6). *Lilybaeum* = 'turned towards Libya', while its modern name Marsala is contracted from its Arabic name *Marsa Alla* = 'the port of God'. Cf. Gib. D. and F. 4. 394 and 398 (Bohn), Forsyth's Life of Cicero, 36. Cicero Verr. 5, 10 calls it *splendidissima civitas Lilybaetana*. Cf. 25, 31, f.; 27, 5, m.

T. Otacilio, cf. 10, 10; 56, 6. He was surnamed Crassus, cf. 23, 21, in.; ib. 31, in.; ib. 32, f.; 26, 23, f.; see also 23, 41, m.;

24, ch. 7—10; 25, 31, f.; 26, 1, f.; ib. 22, in.; ib. 23, f. He competed unsuccessfully for consulship in B.C. 216 and 214. Note T. = Titus; Ti. = Tiberius (cf. 21, 50, 7).

legato, 'second in command'.

P. Sura: Hertz conj. P. Cincio (so Müll. and Riemann): P¹ circi: P² circa.

7. *Ipse*, i.e. Servilius, cf. § 1 (as distinguished from his 'fleet'). For the emphatic use of this pron. cf. Iuv. 1, 62 (Mayor).

pedibus, 'on foot', 'overland'; cf. Dem. Phil. 2, 36 *ὅτρε ναυὶ κπαρῆρας...ὅτρε περὶ βαδίτων*: 21, 31, 11; 26, 19, 12 *sequi navibus iussis Tarraconem pedibus profectus*. So *pedester* is opposed to *navibus*, Caes. B. G. 2, 32; Liv. 26, 51, in. Cf. use of *περὶός*, *περὶών* (Xen. An. 5, 5, 4), *περὶομαχία* applied to land-forces as distinguished from sea-forces.

freto, sc. *Siculo* (1, 2, 5) = mod. *Faro di Messina* or Straits of Messina, in which were the famous rocks Scylla and Charybdis. For abl. of way cf. 21, 56, 9.

et collega—a sort of nom. abs., as it is not the subject of *traiecit*; strictly it should have been *cum collega*. See 25, 16; cf. ch. 32. Atilius was selected consul in place of Flaminius B.C. 217 by Fabius, cf. 25, 11.

exercitus ab se, exacto iam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

- 8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem ad-
versus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius
etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem
9 scribit. Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit, uni consuli

exercitus (most of later MSS. *exercitum*), i.e. the two consular armies of Fabius and Minucius, amounting to four legions; cf. 27, 10 and 11; 32, 1.

ab se, as though *Fabius accivit* had preceded.

exacto, P *exco*.

semestri, on the limitation of the dictatorship to half a year at most (on the other hand it sometimes lasted less than three weeks, cf. 6, 29, f.), cf. 8, 5; 3, 29, 5; 9, 34, 12; 23, 23, 2. Cicero quotes the law in Leg. 3, 3, 9 *quando duellum gravius discordiaeve civium escunt* (= *erunt*), *oenus* (= *unus*) *ne amplius sex menses, si senatus creverit, idem iuris, quod duo consules, teneto*. Six months would as a rule be sufficient for the special needs of a neighbouring war, for which the dictatorship was first created. Cf. Momms. 1, 263. The case of Camillus seems an exception, as some think his dictatorship lasted for a year, cf. 6, 1, in. *neque eum* (M. Furium) *abdicare se dictatura, nisi anno circumacto, passi sunt*; but others refer *annus* here to the civil year, beginning July 1, or to the then current year. App. H. 16 says *ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῶ τῶν ἐξ μηνῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αἰροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτωρας, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ Σερούλιός τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπαγήσαν καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον*.

8. *Omnium...obtinuisse*. This section is one of those critical discussions which Livy is fond of introducing in his narrative. Cf. 21, 15, 3—6; ib. ch. 38. He here corrects from some Annalist (possibly, as Weiss. thinks, Val. Antias or Cinc. Alimentus, cf. Teuffel R. L. 106 and 142) his previous statement in 8, 5—6, where the authorities, asserting that F. was dictator at this time (cf. 28, 40, 10), are cited. Among them is the *elogium*, or inscription, on Fab. Max. C. I. Lat. p. 288, xx 19 (ed. Momms.), cf. Teuffel 118, 2: on the *Fasti consulares* cf. ib. 65.

dictatorem, 'as dictator', 'when he was dictator': on *rem gessisse* cf. 25, 6; 9, 35, m.

Caelius, cf. 38, 7; L. 23, 6; 26, 11; 27, 27; 28, 46; 29, 27; Teuffel R. L. 132, 4.

primum, secondary predicate, 'he was the first that had been chosen dictator by the people': Rob. 1017, c; cf. use of *πρῶτος* Hom. Il. 10, 532. Caelius thus implies that other dictators had been chosen by the people. But though such was the case with Sulla B.C. 82 (Momms. 3, 348) it would hardly have been possible for Antipater, a contemporary of the Gracchi, to refer to that, as Walker strangely asserts.

9. *fugit* = *ἔλαθε*: cf. 9, 44, in.; Cic. Att. 13, 51.

uni, 'that the consul Cn.

Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia
 aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram 10
 quia expectare territa *tertia* iam clade civitas non
 poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui
 pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque in- 11
 signem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros,
 ut, qui pro dictatore *fuiisset*, *dictator* crederetur, facile
 obtinuisse.

Servilius alone had the power of nominating a dictator'.

Gallia, i.e. the *Ager Gallicus* or territory of the Senones (23, 14, 2), in Umbria, the consul being at Ariminum; cf. 8, 1; 9, 6. Cf. 21, 25, 2.

10. *quam*, &c., 'and as the city could not brook this delay', i.e. wait until the return of Servilius, cf. 8, 5: for the force of the relative = the delay arising from this fact (of his absence), cf. 21, 46, 7 *Is pavor*.

tertia, a conj. of Lentz: the reference is to the three battles of Ticinus (21, ch. 45—46), Trebia (21, ch. 55), Trasumennus (sup. ch. 4—5).

eo decursum, &c., 'it had recourse to the plan of appointing a prodicator by popular election': *esse* vulg. and pre-Aldine edd. adopted by Madv.: Heerw., after P and most MSS., reads *est*: the former of course depends on *fugit* as does the or. obl. § 11. *pro dictatore*, cf. 8, 5 where vulg. has *prodictatorem*; in such expressions the prep. *may* or *may not* affect the noun, cf. *proconsul* (37, 46, in.) and *pro consule*, *propraetor* (*propraetorem* vulg. 10, 29, in.) and *pro praetore*, *proquaestor* and *pro quaestore*, and simply *prolegatus*, *propraefectus*.

11. *augentes*, &c., 'exagge-

rating (magnifying) the inscription on his (Fabius') bust'; op. *extenuo*, cf. Cic. Off. 2, 20, 70; so in *maius attollo*, *celebro* (L. 4, 34, 7). The *imago* (εἰκών Pol. 6, 53) was a mask or bust of wax (hence called *cera*), which one who had held a curule office might transmit to posterity; cf. Ov. F. 1, 591. The *ius imaginum* was confined to the *nobiles*. Being arranged in cases round the *atrium* they served the same purpose as family portraits amongst ourselves; but at funerals these masks were worn by persons representing the dead originals. Cf. Beck. Gall. 15, 512; Inv. 8, 1 (Mayor); Sall. I. 85; Hor. Ep. 8, 2. Beneath the mask or bust was written the *titulus* setting forth the honours of the deceased, perhaps in this case, like the *Elogium Fabii* (C. I. L. 1, 288, 435), reading *dictator bis*. Family vanity led to false statements. Cf. 4, 16, m.; 8, 40, 4.

ut... crederetur... obtinuisse, 'led to the belief that... he had been d.' (lit. brought it about that he was believed to have been, cf. 21, 46, 10).

fuiisset, *dictator* conj. Madv.: the verb, as well as *dictator*, is wanting in P and nearly all MSS.: Weiss. d. *creatus esset*, *dictator* c., adopted by Müll. with addition of *fuisse* before d.: vulg.

XXXII. *The consuls Atilius and Servilius carry out the plans of Fabius. Embassy from Neapolis to Rome promising help.*

- 1 Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, *quod reliquum* autumni erat, Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt.
- 2 Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes;

p. d. dictator adopted by Fab. and Heerw. who understand *esset*; cf. 44, 7; 52, 5 for omission of auxiliary verb. Tauchn. reads *ut pro-dictatore d.*, 'so that the predictorator was regarded as dictator'.

1. *Consules, &c.* There is some confusion in P, as § 3 precedes these and following words of §§ 1—2: the alteration is due to ed. of 1531. For construction, plur. followed by sing. of part., cf. 21, 15, 4 *qui...alter*.

Atilius F...accepto, for the un-Ciceronian construction, nom. with abl. abs., when the Gr. would have a past part. act., cf. 21, 45, 9; 44, 31, 15 *vix gladiatorio accepto ab rege rex*. In name of first consul note omission of *praenomen* (31, 7), in name of second, *cognomen* prefixed (so 40, 6; 45, 8). See 31, 1 and 7. For Fabius' division cf. 27, 10.

hibernaculis; their camps were separated, cf. 44, 1.

quod reliquum Madv.: P has only *quom*, two of better MSS. cum, while late MSS. (some reading *tum*) add *tempus* after *erat*. Gron. conj. *medium a. e.* (so Fab. and H.): vulg. after a Paris MS. *extremum*, which hardly agrees with *mature* or *frumen-*

tatum: edd. before Drak. *tum enim a. e. tempus*. For neut. adj. cf. 2, 64, 11 *reliquum noctis*; Nägelsb. 79: here it=acc. of duration. Madv. 235.

F. artibus, cf. §§ 3; 24, 10. The plan adopted consisted of vigorous skirmishing without fighting a decisive battle, cf. Pol. 3, 106, 4.

inter se, cf. 21, 39, 9. The harmony between Atilius and Servilius forms a pleasing contrast to the disagreement between Cornelius and Sempronius (21, 52, 8—9), Fabius and Minucius (27, 5—9).

2. *Frumentatum*; Hann. had already begun to collect these supplies for winter, cf. 23, 10. Translate:—'When Hannibal made foraging expeditions, they were ready to attack him at the right moment on various points': *assum* with dat. usually = to assist; but cf. Sall. J. 50 *infensi adessee: opportuni*, adj. for adv. cf. § 8; 21, 31, 7 *peropportuna*.

carpentes, &c., 'harassing his troops on the march and cutting off stragglers'; cf. 16, 2 *carptim*; 31, 40, f.: *palari*=to stray away from others, while *vagari*=to wander without definite purpose, cf. 21, 61, 2 and Fabri's note: on the hunting

in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant, eoque inopiae³ est redactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Quum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediante constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere.

term *excipio* = *intercipio*, cf. 12, 7; Hor. O. 3, 12, 11 (Orelli); Sen. Prov. 2 *feram venabulo excipit* = attacked, killed; cf. ἐκδέχομαι, Soph. Phil. 123.

in casum, &c., 'they did not incur the hazard of a general engagement'; cf. 12, 10; for *universae* = in which all were engaged, cf. 19, 6. So 1, 38, 4 *universae rei dimicatio* = περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀγών. Cf. Nägelsb. 213.

3. *eoque inopiae est redactus*; this is the emendation of Gron. and Burm. adopted by Madv., on the ground that the MS. reading is not Latin, *adeoque inopia est coactus*, which is retained by Müll., Fab., and Heerw. (The meaning is the same, i.e. 'He was reduced to such extremities'.) Drak. *adidque inopiae e. r.* Schaeffer conj. *adeoque inopiae e. c.*, which wants support. The text is amply justified; cf. Luc. Phar. 7, 406 *Cladis eo dedimus*. The construction is unusual; cf. 15, 11; 1, 28, 8. See also Suet. Caes. 20 (*collegam*) *conquestum ... in eam coegit desperationem, ut ... obnuntiaret*. For Hannibal's want of home-supplies and the advantage taken of this by Fabius cf. 11, 4.

ut, nisi, &c., 'that he would have returned to G., but that his departure must have looked

like flight': *ei fuisset* Madv.: *timuisset* P: so Weiss. Wölf. (reading *ni sibi*), Heerw. Luterb. The usual construction is *ne* with subj. after verb of fearing; but Liv. uses it with acc. and infin. in eight places (if this one is right): cf. 2, 7, 9; 10, 36, 3. Vulg. without MS. authority *n. tum f. speciem abeundo t.* Cf. 21, 2, 6.

repetiturus fuerit, not *repetivisset*, because the verb is used in a past conditional sense ('would have'), and the subj. must in any case have followed *ut*; cf. 21, 34, 7. For periphrasis cf. also 21, 47, 5; Cic. Att. 2, 16, 2.

insequentes c., 'the c. of the following year'.

4. *Gereonium*, cf. 23, 9. For *constitisset b.* cf. 21, 49, 1.

Neapolitani. Neapolis (mod. Napoli or Naples) in Campania was founded by Chalcidians from Cumae and received the name Parthenope (Sil. 12, 34). On the arrival of fresh colonists it was called the 'New City', as distinguished from the 'Old City' (Palaeopolis), from which it was separated by a wall. It was occupied by the Samnites in B. C. 327, but fell into the hands of Rome B. C. 325. Cf. L. 8, 22, 23, 25, 26; L. 23, 1, 14, 15;

- Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam illatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent,
 5 scire sese, populi *Romani* aerarium bello exhauriri, et, quum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque im-
 6 perio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare
 7 populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crede-

L. 24, 13; L. 35, 16; L. 40, 41. It was the residence of Virgil, Silius, and Statius. Virgil's tomb, a Roman *columbarium*, was pointed out to me by a guide near the Grotta di Posilipo. (See my Selections from Phaedrus, Ovid and Virgil. Introd. ix.) Cf. Virg. G. 4, 564; Hor. Epod. 5, 43; Ov. M. 15, 711. See Momms. 1, 374; Arn. R. 2, 185, 196.

paterae (φιάλαι), 'saucers' or flat 'bowls', especially for pouring libations; cf. Virg. G. 2, 192.

ita...dicerent, note pleonasm to introduce *or. obl.*, 'they expressed themselves to this effect'; cf. 36, 28, 1.

5. *scire sese*, for post-position of pron. cf. 21, 21, 3.

aerarium exhauriri, for the expenses entailed by the war cf. 24, 11, 7; ib. 18, 10. As in the First Punic War the Romans met their difficulties by lowering the value of the *as* from 12 to two ounces, so in the Second Punic War, while Fab. Max. was dictator, they reduced it to one ounce; cf. Plin. N. H. 33, 3, 13. On *iuxta...ac* ('as much...as') cf. 31, 3; 21, 33, 4: Cic. appears to use it = *aeque, perinde* only in one place (Post Red. in Sen. 8, 20) and Caes. not at all.

capite atque arce, cf. 21, 30, 10; ib. 35, 9. The *arx* at Rome corresponds to the ἀκρόπολις at Athens. Dionys. Hal. (1, 10, 640) places it near the Capitol, ἡ ἀκρὰ τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ προσεχής. *geratur* sc. *bellum* from preceding *bello*. Note change of subject; cf. 21, 1, 4. To avoid this harsh expression Gron. would read *id quum* above; while Rup. conj. *cernatur*.

6. *quod auri...eo = eo auro... quod*; for partitive gen. cf. Rob. 1294.

templorum. We may compare with this the advice which Pericles, during the Peloponnesian War, gave to the Athenians—to utilize the gold in their temples for military purposes. Cf. Thuc. 2, 13, 4.

ad subsidium f. (sc. *adversae*) 'for help ('a reserve') in time of need', cf. 27, 10, 11. The term is strictly military. Cf. 21, 46, 6; 2, 20, in. For *foret* cf. 21, 21, 1.

iuvare—supply *se* as subject; for a similar construction cf. 60, 7.

7. *in sese*, &c., 'if they (i.e. the Neapolitans themselves) thought that they could have afforded any help in their own persons (as opposed to the *gold*), they would have offered it with the same

rent, eodem studio fuisse oblatores. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint, ab quibus donum animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

XXXIII. *Arrest of a Carthaginian spy. Embassies to Macedonia, Illyria and Liguria. Appointment of a dictator at Rome to preside at the Consular elections. Interregnum.*

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui 1 per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecis- 2 que manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; in-

readiness'. The terms of their alliance only bound them to supply and man a fleet for Rome. Cf. 8, 26, 6; 35, 16, 3. Only Romans and Latins could serve in the regular Roman legions, cf. 37, 7. Hence troops are not offered. Duker needlessly suggests *aliam* after *quam*.

patres R., 'senators', cf. 1, 18, 4: a late MS. has *conscriptos*: with *populum* supply *Romanum*, cf. 21, 19, 10 (*societati sc. Romanae*).

suas duxissent, 'should regard as their own': note this somewhat rare juxtaposition of the different tenses, *duxissent* = fut. perf. from position of historian, *iudicaverint* = perf. subj. = fut. perf. from position of Neapolitans; cf. 34, 8. For Livy's love of variety in the use of the tenses cf. 18, 9; 25, 14; 37, 10; 38, 11—12; 50, 5; 61, 8; 21, 30, 11.

8. *dignosque i.*, *ab q.... acciperent*, 'and deign to receive from

them a gift, whose greatness and value were due rather to the goodwill of those who freely gave it than to its intrinsic worth'.

9. *minimi*, i.e. the lightest and cheapest of the 40; cf. § 4.

1. *speculator*, late MSS.: *speculator P.*

Carthaginiensis, i.e. perhaps a Greek slave, as there were many foreigners engaged in trade at Rome, especially of the servile class; cf. Momms. 2, 380. Cf. 28, 1. For *fefellerat* cf. 21, 48, 5; ib. 57, 3.

2. *praecis* = *abscis*. The Carthaginians are said to have cruelly tortured the Roman Regulus some thirty years previously; cf. Hor. O. 3, 5, 50. Caesar in like manner cut off the hands of the rebellious Gauls; Hirt. B. G. 8, 44.

in crucem acti, 'were crucified', a punishment especially reserved for slaves; whereas freemen were beheaded: cf. 2, 5, m.; 3, 18, 10;

3 *dici data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharum, qui bello victus*
 4 *ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvisent, simul*

Iuv. 6, 219; Beek. Gall. 223. The Romans introduced crucifixion among the Jews; cf. Joseph. B. J. 2, 14, 9. The Persians (Herod. 6, 80) and the Carthaginians (Pol. 1, 86, 4) also adopted this mode of punishment.

coniurassent, 'they had conspired' (as their accusers said); for subj. cf. § 3. Some would translate 'took the military oath' (fraudulently, in order to become free when enrolled among the soldiers); cf. 38, 3; Plin. Ep. 10, 38, where Gesner quotes Marcianus, *ab omni militia servi prohibentur, alioquin capite puniuntur*. But the first meaning is supported by Zon. 9, 1 *καὶ τινες δοῦλοι συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Πρώμῃ πεποιηκότες προκατελήφθησαν*. Of course the place of the conspiracy did not intensify the guilt.

indici, 'to the informer': the *index*, like the *delator* (*μηνυτής*) under the emperors, soon became a name of reproach. Cf. *indicare* Sall. C. 30, 6.

aeris . . . milia (sc. *assium*), '20000 sesterces' = about £177. Cf. 10, 7; 1, 43, 9. In the case of the conspiracy of Catiline, freedom with about £880 was offered to the informer, if a slave, and twice that sum with a pardon to the freeman. Cf. Sall. l. c. See also Liv. 4, 45, in.

3. *Philippum*, i.e. Philip V., who succeeded Antigonos Doson B.C. 220. With the help of the Achaeans he gained a brilliant

victory over the Aetolians B.C. 219. For his two wars with Rome, ending with his defeat by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae (33, 7—10) B.C. 197, cf. Momms. 2, 151, 233, 244. He frequently appears in Livy's pages from this book to bk. 40, 56, where his death is recorded.

Demetrium: Demetrius was a Greek, as his name shows, born in the island of Pharos (mod. Hvar or Lesina) off the Dalmatian coast. Teuta, queen of Illyria, made him governor of Corcyra; but he surrendered it to the Romans, and was rewarded by being made a dynast over much of her territory. He became the ally of Antigonos Doson and attacked the Romans, but was conquered by Aemilius Paullus, B.C. 219. Cf. Momms. 2, 74—75. The original authorities for his eventful career are Polybius, Appian and Zonaras. When Teuta, step-mother of Pineus or Pinnes (App. Illyr. 7), was defeated by the Romans, Demetrius became the guardian of that young prince. Pol. 3, 19 describes Demetrius as a man of daring, but devoid of judgment.

fugisset, subj. because it = reason assigned by ambassadors for his surrender.

4. *expostulandum*, 'to make complaints'; cf. 21, 25, 5.

iuvisent, for the statement cf. 21, 59, 10. On the help Hann. obtained from the Ligurians cf. 21, 58, 2.

ad visendum ex propinquo, quae in Boiis atque Insu-
bribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illy- 5
rios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat,
poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides ac-
cipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus 6
erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne
longinquae quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam 7

ad visendum, &c., 'to observe from the immediate neighbourhood' (Fr. *de près*). For a similar political inquiry cf. 21, 6, 3.

Boiis, some write *Bois*, cf. 3, 10. For the Boii and Insubres cf. 21, 25, 2.

5. *Pineum*. Through the treachery of Demetrius Teuta was defeated in B.C. 229, and the Romans made Pineus king of Illyria in her stead B.C. 228. By the terms of the peace the Illyrians bound themselves to pay a yearly tribute (*φóροι* Pol. 2, 12, 3) to Rome, while Teuta was to surrender most of her dominions and retire beyond Lissus (Alessio) with two unarmed boats (Pol. 2, c. 4 and 12).

cuius, &c., 'for which the time of payment had expired': note indic. as remark of historian, op. §§ 3 and 7. For the phrase cf. 4, 30, 18; ib. 58, 1; 30, 24, f.

si diem, &c., 'if he wished the time for payment to be extended': *proferri* conj. Madv., *P proferre* (so Luterb. &c.).

6. *in cervicibus*, 'on their shoulders', 'they were under the pressure of a heavy war': a metaphor taken from oxen; cf. 4, 12, m.; 9, 6, m. *tantum ferentibus cervicibus iugum*. So *in cervicibus habere hostem* (27, 26, f.) = to have the enemy close at hand: cf. the Germ. *einem auf dem Nacken seyn* = to be at one's

heels. Liv. uses only the plur. in a metaphorical sense; cf. 51, 7.

longinquae, Voss after *C longinque*: *P longinqua*, so vulg. and various edd. The hypallage may be defended by 21, 11, 8; 5, 6, 2 *quamvis serae spei exitum exspectare*. Cf. 21, 21, 5.

7. *In religionem, &c.* 'Religious scruples arose because the temple...had not been contracted for &c.' Cf. the phrases *in religionem versa* 30, 38, f.; *religio erat, religiosum fuit* 6, 27, in.; *religioni fuisse* 5, 13, m. Rob. Pref. LIII. b. Cf. 21, 62, 1; Kühn. Liv. S. 383. The mutiny probably took place after the insurrection of the Boii: cf. 21, 25, 8—9 (note *praecipitatus*). Manlius was praetor in Gaul only the year before, B.C. 218; but Liv. includes the present year in his reckoning. Rup. needlessly conj. *anno* for *biennio*. For *per* = 'during' cf. § 1, or 'on the occasion of' cf. 4, 29, f. *per seditiones Siculorum traiecere*: for other usages cf. 21, 1; 57, 1. The first temple to the goddess Concordia was built by Camillus B.C. 367 to celebrate the reconciliation of patricians and plebeians; a second by Flavius B.C. 304 (Liv. 9, 46, 6). For the splendid one erected by Opimius B.C. 121 cf. Momms. 3, 129. The one here referred to stood near that of Juno Moneta

venit, aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flaminius, aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

9 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam
10 diem, quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad haec

(7, 28, m.) on the Arx (1, 18, 6) of the Capitol; cf. Ov. F. 1, 637; ib. 6, 183.

vovisset, subj. as representing views of people who felt scruples: *locatam*, the correlative of *locare* is *conducere* or *redimere*; so in Gr. *ἐργοδορεῖν* and *ἐργολαβεῖν*: on the contract *locatio conductio* cf. Justin. (Sandars) LVIII. 367. Those who accepted the contract were called *conductores*, *redemptores*, *manipes* and *publicani* (*τελώναι*), the last with special reference to the farming of the taxes.

8. *duumviri*, 'two commissioners'. Contracts of this kind usually came from the censors; but sometimes we find *duumviri* appointed for the building, contracting for, or dedication of temples, as in 7, 28, m.; 23, 30, 14; 34, 53, 5: so for the dedication of the temple in question 23, 21, 7. On the functions of the censor with regard to sacred edifices cf. 24, 18, m.; 42, 3, m. *censorem... cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis... traditum esset*.

creati, cf. 21, 15, 6. For Aemilius cf. 9, 11.

urbano, Adv. for vulg. *urbis*: P has contraction *urb*. The vulg. however has ample support, cf.

25, 1, f.; 26, 3, f. The Praetor (*Ἐξαρέλευς*) presided in the Comitia Tributa at the election of extraordinary magistrates; cf. Lange, Röm. Alterthüm. 1, 918. See also Lidd. H. R. 372. Cf. Liv. 21, 12, 7; 22, 35, 5—6; ib. 55, 1. The Praetor was at once the chief equity judge and great common law magistrate; cf. Maine, A. L., pp. 64, 67, who compares him to the English Chancellor.

Caeso P: vulg. has abridged form K=Kaeso, which was a *praenomen* of the Fabii, cf. 2, 41, f.

arce, the Arx on the Capitoline hill was distinct from the Capitolium. Cf. 1, 33, 2 (Seeley); 5, 41, 5.

9. *ex*, 'in accordance with', the praetor as usual forwarding the senatorial dispatches. Cf. 25, 22, 11; ib. 41, 8.

si...videretur; this phrase was generally a mere matter of form in the commands issued by the Senate; cf. 25, 41, f.; 26, 16, 14; a remarkable instance occurs 2, 56, f.

ad c. creandos, 'to preside at the election of C.'

eam, on gender cf. 8, 6; so 38, 10; but 61, 10 where it does

a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem

not=a fixed day. *quam*, i.e. *in quam iussissent comitia edici*; cf. 9, 10; 39, 24, f.

10. *a consulibus*: P and one of best MSS. omit prep., though a MS. corrector has inserted it. Heerw. accepts read. of P and regards it as dat.; cf. 14, 9; 34, 8; 21, 34, 9; Madv. 250, a. In such cases (as Madv. on Cic. Fin. 1, 4, 11 remarks) with classical writers the verb is usually in the pass. part. and the thing done is regarded as external to the doer, implying at the same time that it is for his interest (*dat. commodi*). Cf. Rob. 1146; Kühn. 139. Liv. however is more free in his use; cf. 5, 6, 14 *audiuntur militi*.

abscedi, cf. 18, 6.

interregem; this official (called by Pol. μεσοβασιλεύς) was appointed on the death or abdication of the consuls, or when an election was void, for the purpose of holding the Comitia (*ἀρχαιεστία*); cf. 34, 1 and 9. Under the republic no *interrex* could hold office for more than five days, when another succeeded, if necessary. From this time until that of Sulla b.c. 82 no *interrex* was nominated by the Senate. The commencement of an *interregnum* is ushered in by the words *res ad Patres redibat* (plebeian senators having no power to elect) or *auspicia ad P.*

redibant, while the patrician senators were said *coire ad interregem prodendum*. Cf. § 12.

potius q. avocaretur; cf. 28, 44, f. Cic. also regularly omits *ut* in this phrase; cf. Tusc. 2, 22 p. *q. indicaret*: for construction cf. 37, 38, f. *a munimento milite avocato*: *alter*, 'either'.

11. *a consule*, 'by the consul', i.e. 'by one of the consuls', probably Servilius (32, 1), as Atilius was only *c. suffectus* (25, 16). Cf. 21, 52, 6. The first *dictator com. hab. causa* mentioned by Liv. is Marcellus b.c. 327 (8, 23, f.). They continued to be appointed until b.c. 202, when the office fell into abeyance until b.c. 82. Cf. Becker, Röm. Alterth. 2, 2, 178.

Veturius Ph. This member of the *gens Veturia* was consul with Catulus b.c. 220, and censor in b.c. 210; cf. 27, 6, f. *M'*. = *Manium*, cf. 3, 35, f. Grammarians derive this praenomen from *mane*, i.e. one born in the morning, like *Lucius* (from *lucē*). Cf. Cic. Brut. 16; Pers. 6, 56. Müll. Wfl. Luterb. &c. read *M.* here on authority of Corp. Inscr. L. IS. 435 *M. Pomponius M' f. M. n. Matho*. He was consul b.c. 233, propraetor in Gallia Cis. b.c. 215, and pontifex b.c. 211, when he died. Cf. 35, 5; 55, 1; 23, 24, 1; 24, 10, in.; ib. 17, in.; 26, 23, f.

12 magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum *res rediit*.

XXXIV. *Interreges appointed. Terentius Varro the popular candidate for consulship. Speech of the tribune Quintus Herennius. Commencement of year B.C. 216.*

1 Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius App.

12. *vitio* (op. *salvis auspiciis* 23, 25, 9); the *vitium* or flaw was determined by the augural college, and might arise from not consulting the auspices (*non auspicato*, cf. 21, 63, 7), or from doing so improperly (*non rite*), or in consequence of their being unfavourable, whence an act would be *contra auspicia*. Cf. use of *vitiosus* (34, 10; Cic. Phil. 2, 33, 84), *dirimo* (8, 23, f.), *diffindo* (91, 38, f.), *renovo* (5, 31, f.) and *repeto auspicia* (9, 39, in.). For the use which contending parties made of augury as a political instrument after the expulsion of the kings cf. Ihne, *Early Rome*, pp. 120, 121.

res rediit: P and several MSS. omit *res*; but cf. 1, 22, 1: Heerw. places *res* before *ad*, as in 9, 7, f.

1. *prorogatum*, i.e. the military command of the consuls Servilius and Regulus was prolonged for another year, while they became proconsuls (*ἀντιστρατηγός* Pol. 3, 106, 2).

Interreges. After the death of Romulus the Senate of 100 members divided themselves into ten decuries of ten senators each, from each of which decuries one

senator was selected as *interrex* or regent, thus giving ten *interreges*, each of whom had royal authority for five days, thus giving fifty days in all. Then if no king was elected they began again. Cf. 1, 17, 4; Dict. Ant. s. v. *Interrex*. Fabius was one of these; cf. Corp. I. L. IS. 289. Patricians alone were eligible to elect and to be elected, hence the opposition of the tribunes (§ 9; 4, 43, m.); cf. Cic. Dom. 38 *ipsum (interregem) patricium esse et a patricio prodi necesse est: proditi sunt*, 'were nominated', 'appointed': P reads *proditi*.

C. Claudius (corr. Sigonius: P has *cn.*) *Cento* (vulg. *Centho*). He was consul B.C. 240, and censor B.C. 213 (25, 2, m.). His father was App. Claud. Caecus (L. 9, 29). P. Corn. Scipio *Asina*, son of Cn. Corn. S.A., consul B.C. 260. Macrobian Sat. 1, 6 says that the father was so called because at his daughter's marriage he produced as a security a *she-ass* laden with money. The son was consul B.C. 221, and obtained a triumph in the Istrian war. For his cowardly advice cf. 26, 8, in.

filii Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari assuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed

In eius, &c., 'in his (the latter's) term of office': the second generally conducted the elections; cf. 9, 7, f.; 10, 11, f.

patrum, i.e. the nobility (§ 4), which now included plebeians, opposed to those who had not filled curule offices; cf. 35, 2. The struggle between patricians and plebeians virtually ceased on the passing of the Ogulnian law, B.C. 300; cf. Momms. I, 307, 314.

2. *Varroni*, governed by *obstant*. Varro was the first of his *gens* who obtained consulship. It was a plebeian family, but probably of Sabine origin, *Terentius* being derived from *terenus* = Sabine for *mollis* (Macrob. S. 2, 9). Cf. 25, 18; 41, 3; 45, 5.

sui generis, 'of their own class' or 'rank', the reflexive referring to the subject *vulgus*; cf. 4, 9, m. *eiusdem corporis* = *plebei*.

plebi...conciliatum, 'who had ingratiated himself with the people', cf. 21, 2, 4: *popularibus a.* 'by the policy of a demagogue'—explained by 26, 2. Cf. Nägelsb. 200.

ab Q. F., &c., 'in consequence of the shock he had given to the influence and dictatorial power of Q. F. (by supporting the bill

giving equal authority to Minucius, 25, 18), deriving lustre from the unpopularity of another'; cf. 26, 4: with *opibus* supply *concussis*, and for the use of part. as subst. cf. 36, 6; 42, 1; 47, 8; 49, 3; 52, 1; 63, 7; 21, 52, 1; for *ab* ib. 36, 7; 54, 6; 1, 31, 4; or it may be = 'after', as 21, 16, 5; *concusso* late MS.: P and nearly all *concussum*; cf. 31, 5: vulg. *concussis*: for *concutio* = *imminuo* 'to impair' cf. 28, 44, m.

extrahere, 'to elevate', 'raise', lit. 'to draw out of the ranks of the plebeians'; cf. 5, 12, f. *extractum ad honorem*: vulg. after P prefixes *et* = *etiam* (cf. 21, 5, 13; ib. 48, 7; 22, 49, 3 and 7; 1, 23, 6): late MSS. omit it. For *nitor* with infin. cf. 21, 28, 2; so *annitor* 5, 29, in.; *connitor* 9, 31, m.

3. *Q. Baebius H.*: another member of this plebeian family is mentioned 21, 18, 1. Some regard Q. B. H. as father of the tribune mentioned 31, 6, m. As he is a relation (*cognatus*) of the tribune, some would read *Vibius Terentius* for *Baeb. Her.* Livy implies a personal motive, as in the case of Metilius (25, 3).

- etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo
 4 conciliabat: Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, quum debellari possit, fraude
 5 bellum trahi. Quum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius ab-
 6 sente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere pro-
 7 hibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, bellum

augures; cf. 33, 11, 12 *vitio*: they were distinguished by a *lituus* and *capis*. Cf. Rich, D. A. s.v. For a famous augur cf. 1, 36, 3. For infin. after *prohibuissent* cf. 19, 10.

conciliabat, 'was endeavouring to win favour for', &c.; for imperf. cf. 21, 52, 2.

4. *h. nobilibus*, perhaps alluding to Fabius, who when consul B.C. 233 challenged Carthage to war; cf. Zon. 8, 18; A. Gell. 10, 27: with the expression cf. 28, 40, m. *h. adolescentes*, and Gr. *πολῖτας ἀνθρώπους*, Dem. 609, f. The high-handed proceedings of the Roman senatorial party in fixing the Ebro as the Carthaginian boundary and supporting Sargentum unquestionably precipitated the Second Punic War; cf. 21, 2, 7; ib. 6, 4; ib. 18, 13; ib. 40, 5; though, as Weiss. observes, the Annalist Fabius lays the blame on the Carthaginians. The oblique narration depends on *dicens* understood from *criminando*.

Hannibalem; the orator might have included the Gauls, cf. 21, 16, 5.

quum...trahi, cf. § 7: *debellari* 'the war might have been brought to an end', cf. 8, 36, in.; see 38, 7.

5. *quattuor*. P and two of the best MSS. absurdly add *milia*, which late MSS. have changed into *militum*, so vulg. The text follows Crévier, though Doer. defends vulg. by 37, 13 *navium classem*.

universis, 'if united', 'combined'; hence he implies Fabius was to be blamed for dividing the army instead of alternately commanding the whole. Cf. 27, 9, 10: for the instrumental abl. of persons cf. 39, 5; 60, 4; 21, 32, 5.

pugnari, 'a battle might be fought with success': Riemann adds *prospere* from following; cf. 38, 11.

6. *ad caedem ob.*, cf. 45, 10, f. *in auctoribus ad piaculum noxae obiciendis*.

p. patronusque, the latter title ('protector', *προστάτης*) was given to the soldiers, not to Fabius; cf. 29, 10, 11; 30, 2. Cf. *patro* in the phrase *pater patratus* 1, 24, 4. For the connection of Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 54; Ter. Adel. 3, 4, 10, 7. *Fabianis a.*, cf. 24, 10.

traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum

Id foedus, 'this is the compact that has been made': *id*=for this purpose, cf. 21, 5, 4: *habituros*, the subject is *eos* understood; in *or. recta* this would be *habebitis*; cf. Rob. 1786, 1787, C.

id est, this crystallized phrase is unaffected by *or. obl.* and is used adverbially; cf. 45, 15, in *neque emovere, id est eripere*; Cic. Agr. 2, 28 *multitudinem, id est Italiam, obsidebunt*; ib. Att. 7, 7, f. Cf. Cicero's *hoc est, Gr. τούτοστι*.

hominem novum, 'a man from the ranks' (4, 3, f.), often in a bad sense=*a parvenu, nouveau riche* (4, 54, m.). The *novus homo* is the man who first holds a consulship or curule magistracy and thus obtains the *ius imaginum* (1, 34, 6), while his children become members of the plebeian nobility (35, 2). Cf. Hor. S. 1, 6, 20; Sall. J. 85, 13.

8. *sacris*, 'religious rites', 'mysteries' (Gr. τὰ ἱερά), here in a metaphorical sense, = hatred and contempt of the *plebs*. Liv. refers to the rites (*initia*) of Ceres (31, 14, m.; ib. 47, in.) and Bacchus (39, 8, m.; ib. 9, m.). On the plebeian grievances cf. the speeches of Ap. Claudius (L. 6, 41) and Decius (L. 10, 7).

desierint; cf. 4, 4; Madv. 113, b. 1; for change from plup. to perf. subj. cf. 32, 8: on *con-*

temnere...contemni, cf. *vincere...vinci* § 6; 21, 63, 12. Vulg. reads *c. d. a p.*, while P and the best MSS. omit the prep.; cf. 33, 10. See Madv. 250, a. for dat. after pass.; here it would mean 'to seem contemptible to the patricians'. For a similar sentiment cf. 4, 35, 9.

9. *non*, P adds *id*, which Gron. strikes out; but Livy often introduces the acc. and infin. emphatically by the neut. pron.; cf. 36, 5; 38, 13; but cf. 1, 50, 5; 8, 23, f. For the oblique question cf. 21, 30, 9; Madv. 405, a.

id actum, &c., 'this was their aim and object': note repetition *ut...ut*, which may be distinguished as consecutive and final; cf. Rob. 1638, 1696 (21, 2, 6); cf. 21, 19, 6, with ib. 21, 6, where the repetition is avoided.

in p. potestate, because the patricians would nominate only one of their own body as *interrex* (3, 40; 6, 41, m.), and could continue to do so, until they got an opportunity of appointing a patrician as consul.

10. *ambos*, &c., 'by both staying with the army': note Livy's loose employment of the subject of the sentence, where Cic. would write *dum ambo morabantur*; so 21, 45, 9; cf. sup. 31, 7. The speaker means that one of the consuls

morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut
11 vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

XXXV. *The plebeians obtain the election of Terentius Varro, the patricians that of Aemilius Paulus, as consuls. Praetors elected.*

1 Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio

might easily have hastened to Rome to hold the elections. For Livy's modal use of the abl. of the gerund cf. 14, 7; 21, 43, 8; Nägelsb. 110: on the gerundial apposition cf. ib. 114; sup. 8, 5; 21, 4, 3.

id...expugnatum, &c., 'this point had been carried by force, that the dictator should be declared irregularly elected by the augurs'; for *expugnare*=*vi efficere* cf. 4, 35, f.; 5, 11, in.: for construction cf. § 9.

iis, i.e. *consulibus*, cf. 33, 10.

11. *Habere*, corr. Ruben: P *haberet*: *eos* refers to the patricians generally.

unum, i.e. by the third Licinian law of B.C. 367 one consul at least (*utique*) must be a plebeian, 6, 35, m.: by a law passed B.C. 342 both consuls might be plebeians, 7, 42, in. For gen. after *esse* cf. 15, 2; 29, 8; see also 22, 8; here it=gen. of pers. possessing as secondary predicate; cf. 21, 41, 12; Rob. 1282.

esse, P *esset*, hence Gron. conj. *esse et* adopted by Müll. Wfl.:

Stroth with one MS. reads *Romanae: etiam p.*

populum, here equivalent to *plebis*; cf. 26, 2; 1, 41, 6 (explained by 1, 42, 3).

liberum sc. *consulatum*, 'would freely dispose of it', uninfluenced by patricians; cf. 60, 9.

mature ('early', 'soon', cf. 3, 62, 3) Kiehl: vulg. after P and all MSS. *magis vere*: but the pleonasm *magis...malit* may be supported by 9, 7, in.; Cic. Tusc. 1, 76 *nihil malo...multo magis* (sc. *malo*); so μάλλον with compar. Herod. 1, 31, &c.

diu imperare, alluding to Fabius; cf. 25, 4.

1. *petentibus* sc. *consulatum*.

Merenda, a rare cognomen of the Antonian and Cornelian families: the word=*prandium* and is still used in Italian=luncheon (hence It. *merendare*, to take luncheon). Grammarians derive it from *meridies*, *mereor*, or *merus*. For Manlius V., Praetor B. C. 218, cf. 21, 17, 7; 23, 21, 7: for Aemilius Lepidus, praetor B. C. 218, cf. 21, 49, 6; 23, 30, 15

Vulsone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus iam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. Tum experta nobilitas, parum 3 fuisse virium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium

(son of the consul and augur there mentioned). The old patrician gens *Aemilia* is said to have sprung from Aemilius Mamercus, son of Numa, who was so called from his winning manners (*αἰνυλία*).

2. *duobus*, referring to Atilius and Aelius, 'two of plebeian families already ennobled', i.e. as their forefathers had held curule office; cf. 34, 8; for *plebei* cf. 25, 10. Müll. reads *nobilium* (after Freinsheim)...*plebeis* (Lut. *plebeis*, cf. 3, 10): for position of *iam* cf. 34, 8; 21, 60, 4.

Atilio S., cf. 21, 26, 2. For the surname *Serranus* first given to Regulus cf. 25, 16; but as the form *Saranus* occurs on coins and inscriptions (cf. Corp. Ins. Lat. 18. 22) others derive it from *Saranum* in Umbria.

Aelio P. The first who was called *Paetus* had doubtless a *cast* in the eyes; hence too the cognomens *Strabo*, *Naso*, *Nasica*, *Varus*, *Scaurus*, *Naevius*, *Flaccus*, &c.; cf. Cic. N. D. 29, 80; Hor. S. 1, 3, 45. See Mart. 1, 13, 1. The first *alter* refers to Aelius P. Cf. 23, 21, 7.

unus = solus. As the three patrician candidates, with the two new members of the nobility, divided the votes of their party, no patrician candidate could obtain the requisite majority. Similarly the people carried the election of Flaminius; cf. 21, 63, 4. For the system of voting in

the Comitia Centuriata (also called *consularia*, 11, 11, f.) cf. Lange, Röm. Alt. 2, 432; Dict. Ant. s.v.; Ihne, Early Rome, 128.

in manu = in potestate (34, 9); cf. 24, 14, f. The presiding officer, especially as the people's favourite, would naturally have much influence in recommending or objecting to a candidate. He might even refuse to accept a person as a candidate (8, 15, f.; 39, 39, m.), though the Senate had a right to interpose.

rogando, 'for electing (lit. 'for asking the people for') a colleague'; for the formula of the *rogatio* cf. 21, 17, 4; cf. also use of *subrogare consules* 23, 24, 1 = to appoint in place of the deceased consuls. Note dat. of gerundive instead of *ad* with acc. (*ad consules subrogandos* l. c.); cf. § 5; 21, 47, 1; ib. 54, 1; 3, 35, 1; Kühn. 123, 257, 391; Rob. 1382. The gen. of gerundive is similarly used; cf. 25, 16; 3, 19, 2. For dat. after compound notion in *comitia edico* cf. 3, 37, 5; c. *habeo* 23, 31, 7; c. *indico* 3, 35, 1.

3. *parum*, 'too little', op. *ni-mium*, cf. 26, 4; it is probably another form of *parvus* (Gr. *παῦρος*), akin to *paulus* &c.

competitoribus eius, 'his rivals', i.e. of C. Terentius (note quantity of penult in *competitor* op. English); C and B wrongly render 'their candidates'.

Aemilium, cf. 38, 8; 45, 4; 49,

Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitali die, consentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par

12 (Hor. O. 1, 12, 38); 21, 18, 1; 23, 21, 7. For his victory over Demetrius of Pharos cf. 33, 3. Val. Max. 1, 3, 3 tells a characteristic anecdote about his religious zeal. Paulus had been consul B.C. 219 and therefore only two years had elapsed, whereas a plebiscitum B.C. 342 enacted that ten years must elapse between two magistracies held by the same person (7, 42, 2; 10, 13, 8); but in consequence of the war in Italy this year that law was suspended (27, 6, 7), though this was never done again. Cf. Momms. 2, 324. Cf. Sidon. Apoll. Carm. 11, 531 *Si ruperit Alpes Poenus, ad afflictos condemnatosque recur.*

M. Livio, cf. 21, 18, 1. It seems doubtful whether it was for the unfair division of the plunder after the Illyrian war B.C. 219 that he was condemned (Front. Strat. 4, 1, 45), or for embezzlement (*peculatus*, cf. Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 50). Of the 35 tribes only the Maecian acquitted him. Cf. L. 27, 84, 35, 40, 46—49; L. 28, 9, 10, 46; L. 29, 5, 13, 37; L. 36, 36; L. 39, 3. The defeat of Hasdrubal at Metaurus (B.C. 207) and of Mago (B.C. 205) gained him celebrity. Cf. Sil. It. 15, 594 sqq.

et damn.: Müll. and Luterb. after Harant *ex d.* On the same authority they read *ex qua* for *et sua* of MSS. Translate—'had narrowly escaped by the condemnation of his colleague and

almost of himself'; for this use of adv. cf. 21, 7, 5; ib. 36, 6; for abl. of cause cf. 11, 6. Ch. and B. translate *prope amb.* 'half ruined' (it might also be rendered—'blasted in his reputation', 'not unscathed', 'not without a brand'). The Romans are fond of connecting the ideas of singeing or burning with a judicial condemnation: cf. 40, 3; 24, 26, in.; Juv. 8, 92; Nägelsb. 456. The Germans say 'he had come off with a black eye'. So Plin. Ep. 3, 11, 3 *fulminibus quasi ambustus*; cf. use of *κεραυνω*. Cf. Sil. It. 8, 291—3.

plebei. M. Livius was impeached in the Comitia Tributa, 27, 34, 3.

4. *Is* after pre-Aldine edd.: *P is ius*. It would be possible to defend MS. reading by Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 142, translating—'while all yielded to him their right of candidature'—i.e. retired in his favour: the verb occurs 12, 4; 21, 1, 5. The *dies comitiales* amounted to 184 in the year, and might coincide with the *d. fasti*. Macrob. 1, 16 draws this distinction between them, that on the former days the people might be assembled for legislative purposes, and the praetor could preside in the law courts, whereas on the *d. fasti* only the latter was allowed.

par...in ad., 'as an antagonist to thwart (oppose) him', the consuls having equal power (Scheller thinks it may mean 'fit to

magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius *Philus*; Philo Romae iuridicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit; additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in

contend against'), 7, 33, in.; 9, 17, m. Cf. 27, 3, 9; L. 28, 44. *Paris* especially used of gladiators or athletes; cf. Hor. S. 1, 7, 19; ib. 2, 6, 44; Sil. 16, 617. Cf. also Hor. O. 1, 6, 16; ib. Epod. 15, 14. Cf. use of *comparare* L. 24, 8. For *in* with gerund = purpose cf. 21, 21, 10.

5. *praetorum* M: *praetorium* P: *praetoria* vulg.

M'. Pomponius, cf. § 7. It seems doubtful whether we should distinguish Manius P. consul of B.C. 233 (mentioned in 33, 11; 35, 5; 55, 1) from his brother Marcus P. mentioned in 7, 8; Müll. prints M. in all these passages, and many edd. regard the one here mentioned and that of 7, 8 as identical.

Philus, wanting in MSS., added by Alschefski. A copyist might easily have omitted it before the following *Philo*. Vulg. omits *Philo* and places a comma after *Pomponio*, inserting after *peregrinos* the words *P. Furio Philo* (found in two late MSS.). The copyist of P (writing *p. furius Philo romae* &c. without stops) probably took *Philo* for the nom., as in 33, 11.

Philus was consul B.C. 223, when with Flaminius he conquered the Gauls. Cf. 55, 1; 57, 8; 23, 21, 2. L. 24, 11, 18, 43; L. 25, 2. He died while censor B.C. 213. His son is mentioned 53, 4. Livy speaks of another member of this

patrician family, 49, 16. Translate 'At Rome *Philus* was allotted the jurisdiction over citizens (i.e. as *Praetor urbanus*), while Pomponius had the administration of justice in causes between Roman citizens and foreigners' (i.e. as *Praetor peregrinus*). Cf. 33, 8. For dat. of aim cf. § 2; 21, 52, 8. On the office of the *Praetor peregrinus*, appointed B.C. 246, and the growth of Roman equity, cf. Maine, A. L. pp. 63, 65 sqq.

6. *additi*, 'moreover there were appointed'. Liv. does not imply that these two additional praetors were now first elected, as the appointment of four praetors had been fixed for ten years already: cf. Epit. 20 *praetorum numerus ampliatus est, ut essent quatuor*; 7, 14.

Marcellus, consul B.C. 222, when he himself slew Viridomarus or Britomartus king of the Gauls, thus winning the *spolia opima* like Romulus and Cossus. Cf. 57, 1. His exploits are recorded in bks. 23—27; cf. Virg. 6, 856. In B.C. 212 he captured Syracuse, but in B.C. 208 in his fifth consulship he was slain in an ambush of Numidians. Plutarch, after Posidonius, makes *Marcellus* i.q. *Martialis*, rendering it *ἀρτίος*, though it is generally regarded as dim. of *Marcus* = a hammer. (So in Fr. hist. we have Charles *Martel* = *marteau*.) While *Fabius* was called the "Shield of Rome"

- 7 Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum, praeter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI. *The Roman legions increased. Sibylline books consulted. Embassy from Paestum.*

- 1 Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum affirmare ausus sim.
- 2 Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo

(Flor. 2, 6, 27), Marcellus was called its "Sword" (Posid. ap. Plut.).

in S., 'for Sicily', cf. 21, 63, 12. The seat of government was Lilybaeum; cf. 31, 6; 21, 49, 6.

L. (late MSS.: P reads a: so Pol. 2, 11 calls him Aulus) Albinus, consul B.C. 234, slain in battle against the Boii B.C. 215; cf. 23, 24, 6; Frontin. Strat. 1, 6, 4. Cic. Tusc. 1, 37 refers to his death and that of Marcellus (in Cic. for Latini perh. we should read Litana, as Albinus fell not in Latium but in the Litana Silva in Gallia Cispadana).

in Galliam, i.e. to Ariminum, cf. 21, 15, 6; ib. 51, 6.

7. Omnes, i.e. the praetors (not including consuls).

non iam, Madv., P reverses.

fortibus ac s., cf. 21, 4, 4.

in tali t., 'under such circumstances', 'at such a crisis'; cf. Sall. C. 48; Rob. 1968.

nulli n., late MSS.: P nullis novos.

novus, 'to which he was new',

'which he had not held before'. It is noticeable that the four praetors had been already consuls, and therefore praetors before.

1. multiplicati (sunt late MSS.: sint P), cf. 7, 3: quantae, 'as to the amount of': for variant cf. 21, 28, 5. Vulg. places copiae after sint contrary to P and two of best MSS.

satis c., render 'as sufficiently c.' ausus sim (P and two of best MSS.: vulg. ausim), 'I would venture' (not 'I have not ventured' C. and B.); cf. 39, 9; so 23, 16, 15; Tac. Agr. 43. See Madv. 350, b.

2. alii sc. narrant or the like from variant, or auctores sunt from § 4 (of which Perizon. makes alii subj.); cf. 24, 11.

scripta in s., 'were levied as a reinforcement': cf. 21, 17, 3. legiones sc. scriptas.

ut, &c., 'that they (the consuls) might conduct the war at the head of eight legions'. They would thus have about 90,000 men to oppose to Hannibal. Pol.

legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum³ equitumque legiones auctas, milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, septem⁴ et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis *fuisse*, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est,

3, 107, 9, 15. Cf. *infra*. The legions were now raised a fifth above their normal strength. The allies usually furnished a larger body of infantry than the Romans, and three times as large a force of cavalry, though these numerical proportions varied. Cf. Smith D. A. s. v. *Socii*. See also 21, 17, 5.

3. *milibus* sc. *singulis*: *milia* stands in this distributive sense only when some case of *singulus* follows: cf. 30, 17, f. in *singulos dona militum aeris*. The distributive *milleni* is not used. Madv. 76, obs. For the omission of *singulus* cf. 23, 6: and for the distributive use of the prep. cf. also 52, 2; 58, 4. Besides the forces here enumerated it appears (from 23, 14, 2; ib. 24, 8) that two city legions were enrolled.

centenis, cf. 27, 3; 21, 17, 3 and 5. Pol. 3, 107, 10 also represents the legionary cavalry as =200, but quotes the entire cavalry as =6000; whereas $300 \times 8 + 600 \times 8$ (allies) = 7200, which with 80,000 foot gives the entire army as =87,200 instead of 86,000, Pol. 3, 113, 5. Cf. § 4.

treceni. Fab. after Lipsius reads *quadringeni* (as a copyist might easily omit C from CCCC, which Livy probably wrote) on the ground that the ordinary number of cavalry in a legion was 300, cf. 8, 8, 11; 21, 17, 3,

and records a similar increase to 400 in 23, 34, 13; 40, 36, 8. Otherwise 200 horse would have been the original complement. If we accept the text we cannot reconcile Livy with Polybius and Dionysius. Nothing can be proved by 42, 31, in. *ducenti equites*, where *pedites* is read by the best editors.

duplicem (Matthiae conj. *triplicem*): Pol. 3, 6, 26 says 'three times as many', agreeing with his previous statement 3, 107 τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶν τριπλάσιον. Livy's error probably arose from hastily copying Polybius' δριπλάσιον (6, 30, 2), without noticing that one-third had been deducted as a *corps d'élite* (900 - 300 = 600 as against Roman 300).

peditis (sc. *numerum*) Drak.: *pediti* P and two of best MSS.: vulg. *pedites*. Salmasius conj. *peditum* on account of *equitum*; but for change of number cf. 54, 2; 21, 44, 1.

4. *septem...est*; the fifteen words here occurring are struck out by Weiss. (followed by Müll. Wfl. Luterb.) as a gloss, merely giving the sum total. For *castris* we should have expected *acie*, as the camp-garrison only amounted to 10,000 men; Pol. 3, 117. Cf. 52, 4. After *octoginta* some late MSS. insert *quinque*, whence Heusinger substitutes *fuisse* after

5 quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator prae-buerat.

6 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi

7 propter territores vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis sudasse et aquas fonte calido gelidas

the clever emendation of Perizonius *ad Cannas, fuisse auctores sunt*. So Madv. vulg. places full stop after *aequantur*.

auctores sunt = *narrant*, cf. 2, 58, in.; 21, 38, 1. He probably alludes to Pol., as in 21, 15, 3, and ib. 38, 1.

5. *discrepat*, cf. 61, 10: *op. convenit*, 1, 3, 4; 3, 31, f.

conatu, &c. 'vigour and energy'. *vinci*, cf. 29, 6.

6. *Ceterum*, with resumptive force after digression—'be that as it may' &c. (like δ' οὐν Xen. An. 1, 2, 12); cf. 8, 37, in.; 21, 6, 1; ib. 57, 5. Yet Liv. uses it frequently = *sed*, cf. 46, 4. From the pages of Pol. he now turns to Caelius Antipater.

priusquam, with subj. of purpose or intention; cf. 31, 2; 21, 14, 1: *decemviri sc. sacris faciundis*, cf. 10, 9; 21, 62, 6. On the Sibylline books cf. Seeley's Liv. p. 94.

territos, cf. 21, 41, 13; *novis*, in relation to 1, 8; 9, 8. See also the two prophecies of Marcius 25, 12, in.

7. *Aventino*, cf. 21, 62, 8: *Ariciae* (mod. Ariccia or La Riccia), a town of Latium on the Appian Way. It is first mentioned 1, 50, 3. At the foot of

the hill on which it stood beggars congregated—cf. Iuv. 4, 117; Pers. 6, 56 (Conington's note).

lapidibus, &c., 'there had fallen a shower of stones', cf. 21, 62, 5. *signa* = statues of the gods.

sudasse (conj. Wakef.) et Madv.: P. C. M. *caedes aq. f.*: late MSS. *cecidisse* (vulg. *Sab. caedis, aquas e fonte calidas m.*): Heerw. after Bezzenberger *Sabinis, Cediis a. f. c. m.*; Weiss. *Caediis*, *Caediae* being a town of Campania near Sinuessa, famous for hot-springs; 13, 10; cf. Forcell. s. v. *Caedicius*; Wölff. *Caediciis a. f. c. g. m.*, cf. Plin. N. H. 14, 62 *a vico Caediciis* (al. *Caediis*). The passage being very corrupt various conjectures have been attempted. Gron. conj. *Caeretes*, though, with the received reading, *calido* is superfluous, the water of Caere being naturally hot; cf. 1, 10; Strab. 5, 2, 3: Drak. *S. Cereris, aquas vii.* (MSS. *aquasque*) e f. *calidas*. Alsch. reads *Caeretes a. f. c. gelidas m.*

calido C: *callidos* P and M: Crév. conj. *cruentas*: Müll. reads *Caere aquas in fonte calido manasse*, connecting *cruore* with last verb, like 27, 23, 3; cf. Iul. Obseq. 25 *Puteolis in aquis calidis rivi manarunt sanguine*.

manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, 8 magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati 9 a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

XXXVII. *Hiero supplies the Romans with provisions and troops. The Sicilian fleet is increased.*

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum 1 magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum intro- 2

8. *id q., &c.*, 'the frequent repetition of this portent produced even more terror'.

v. fornicata, 'the arched (or 'vaulted') street, which used to lead (note imperf.) to the Campus Martius'. Fab. quotes 35, 10, 10 where Liv. speaks of a portico leading from the Fountain Gate (*p. Fontinalis*) to the altar of Mars (which stood in the Campus M.), *qua in Campum iter esset*. Perhaps he means the one here mentioned. Cf. Smith D. G. 750, b. It is not to be confounded with the *Via Tecta* of Ov. F. 6, 192. It was similar to our Arcades. For *esse ad* cf. Cic. Phil. 12, 9 *tres viae sunt ad Mutinam*.

de caelo t. = icti fulminibus (1, 9), *κεραυνόβλητοι*: cf. 29, 14, in.; 35, 9, in.; ib. 21, in.

fuerant = erant: note Livy's frequent use of this form of plup. pass. cf. 13, 2; 23, 3; 42, 11, &c. *procurata*, cf. 21, 46, 3; 27, 37, in.

9. *a Paesto*. Paestum (Gr. Παῖστον, mod. Pesto) was a town of Lucania originally colonized by Sybarites under the name Posidonia, sacred to Neptune, founded

probably between B.C. 650 and 600. A Roman colony was planted here B.C. 273. It was destroyed by the Saracens in the tenth cent. and only ruins now remain. When I visited it I was struck, as all travellers are, by the three magnificent temples of Poseidon (Doric style), Vesta (?) and the Basilica. For its roses and violets cf. Virg. G. 4, 119; Mart. 9, 27, 12, 31. See also Zon. 8, 26; Liv. 8, 17; Epit. 14; L. 26, 39; L. 27, 10; Athen. 4, 632. For the phrase *legati a P.* cf. 21, 9, 3; 10, 14, in.; we also find *legati a Porsena* (2, 13: in.) where it = *qui missi erant*: see also 37, 1.

Neapolitanis, cf. 32, 4—9.

1. *Hierone*, cf. 56, 7; 21, 49, 3; 24, 4 in.; *classis* goes with *ab H.*; cf. 3, 22, m.; 27, 5, in.

Ostia P and one of best MSS., vulg. *Ostiam*; cf. 11, 6 and 7; but the neut. is found 9, 19, 4; 27, 23, 3.

commeatu = τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, cf. § 6; 14, 13; 21, 25, 14: Liv. 1, 57, 4 uses it = 'furlough'.

2. *Legati*, vulg. adds without MS. authority *Syracusani*.

ducti nuntiarunt, caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quanquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvare soleant, mississe; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum

c....allatam, 'the news of the slaughter'; cf. 34, 2; 36, 6; 42, 1; 47, 8; 21, 1, 5; ib. 49, 3. For Flaminius cf. 6, 4. On *afferre* = *nunciare* cf. 6, 6, in.

a. aegre t., 'was so much distressed at': so *graviter ferre*, and in Gr. βαρέως, χαλεπῶς φέρεν τι.

propria, 'personal'; *proprius* is *op. communis*, as *suius* is *op. alienus*; cf. 33, 2, 1 *suis...et communibus in...Graeciam et propriis in Boeotorum gentem meritis*. Cf. § 5.

potuerit, perf. subj. in *or. obl.*, representing *potuit* of *or. rect.*; cf. 21, 2, 6; *Madv.* 381, obs.

3. *probe* = *satis*, cf. 15, 1 with 21, 26, 4.

magnitudinem, cf. Hannibal's exclamation 27, 14, 1, Scipio's speech 26, 41, m., and Horace's famous Ode 4, 4, 37—76, especially l. 65, in connection with Hiero's remarks; *Sil.* 3, 585 sqq.; ib. 9, 346 sqq.; *Plut.* *Marcell.* p. 313.

prope, join with *adm.*, cf. 35, 3; *adversis r.* = *abl. abs.* (cf. 27, 1); otherwise Livy prefers a prep., cf. 22, 19; 39, 12; also 27, 3; *L.* 4, 17 in *trepidis r.* (but 2, 50, f. *dubiis r.*). For the sentiment cf. the Carthaginian remark 29, 4, in.: also *Sulpicia Sat.* 48 (p. 798 Corp. P. L. ed. Walker);

Sidon. Apoll. C. 5, 65 *tua nempe putantur Surgere fata malis, et celsior esse ruina.*

4. *se*, i. e. *Hieronem* (so *se orare*), which is also understood §§ 7 and 8, whereas *sese* § 5 = *legatos*, which also forms subject to *adversisse* § 6. In the first instance we should have expected *eum* or the like; but the ambassadors speak in the name of Hiero. Cf. 23, 42, 2 *fuimus*, § 7 *ego gloriabor* (the words of the spokesman).

bonis f., for this expression applied to allies cf. 60, 20; though *fortis* usually takes the place of *bonus*, cf. 21, 44, 2. *Cic. Rep.* 1, 5 has *bonus et fortis* after the Gr. καλὸς κῆρυθός.

bella iuv., cf. the *Sententia* of Publius Syrus l. 465 *prospicere oportet in pace, quod bellum iuvet.*

magno op., 'earnestly'; cf. 9, 33, f.; *maximo...op.* *Ter. Eun.* 3, 3, 26; *summo op.* *Lucr.* 4, 1186: *so tanto, quanto op.*

patres c., cf. 32, 7: originally *patres et conscripti* = 'full burgesses and enrolled', Brutus or Valerius Publicola having filled up the ranks of the patrician senate by the admission of plebeians, to form a body of 300: cf. 2, 1, 11. But the distinction died out; hence the common

ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre sese. Acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam 6 trecenta milia modium tritici ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque 7 equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse 8 mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum

omission of *et*, so that Cic. Phil. 13, 13, 28 even calls a senator *pater conscriptus*. Momms. 1, 266. Cf. 23, 12, 8 where Liv. applies it to the senate of Carthage.

5. *Iam o. p.*, cf. 21, 62, 7.

ominis c., 'for the sake of good luck'.

Victoriam, i.e. a statue of V.

pondo, indecl., here representing gen., cf. 1, 17; 30, 21, 1; Varro ap. Non. 163, 33 *corona aurea pondo ducentum*; *ducentum* (= *ducentorum*, cf. § 6; 22, 5). Vulg. after late MSS. *trecentum*, which might easily arise from the ciphers of P *auream p. cc. ac xx*. Val. Max. 4, 8 gives the weight of the gold as *ducenta et quadraginta pondo*.

haberent, &c., 'keep it as their own for ever', i.e. the statue of the goddess and the success it symbolized; cf. § 12. On *proprius* cf. Virg. Ec. 7, 31 (Coning.); ib. A. 1, 73.

6. *modium* = *modiorum* (given by late MSS.); for the *genitivus generis* cf. § 8; Madv. Gr. 285, a. See § 8. The *modius* (ὁ ἐκρέβς) = 2 gall. or 1 peck nearly.

ducenta sc. milia; cf. 21, 59, 1; 25, 19, 13; Kühn. 276.

quantum...o. e. sc. subvehi; otherwise we should have *quanto*:

quo, &c., 'they would convey to whatever place they might appoint'.

7. *Milite* = *pedite*, cf. 4, 59, f.; 27, 38, f.; so *exercitus* opposed to *equitatus* 40, 52, f. Hiero refers to the constitution of the Roman legion, as opposed to allies and auxiliaries; cf. 36, 3.

scire, for subj. cf. § 4; cf. 21, 27, 7. For the statement cf. 32, 7; Momms. 1, 435—6.

Latini...u., cf. 21, 55, 4.

l. armorum, corr. Gron.: MSS. *armatorium*; cf. 3, 9; 47, 1; see also 21, 21, 11 and ib. 55, 2 and 5. Cf. 44, 4, m. *qui gravium armorum erant*.

auxilia, cf. the words of Festus p. 15 (Epit. 17) (quoted by White and Riddell a. v. *auxiliaris*). Cretans fought for Rome at the battle of the Trasimene Lake (7, 5), whom the Romans had obtained from Hiero after the battle of the Trebia (21, ch. 55; cf. Pol. 3, 75, 7); for other foreign auxiliaries cf. 21, 48, 1; ib. 60, 4; ib. 21, 4; 24, 49, f. (Celtiberi).

8. *mille* = subst., cf. 21, 61, 1; see also 21, 4 where Luterb. reads *mille hominum occisis* (instead of *omnes o.*). Silius 8, 615 states 3000 archers: *Addiderat ter mille viros, in Marte sagittae Expertos,*

- adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias mis-
 9 sili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque adde-
 bant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset,
 classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra
 10 sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur
 iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu
 ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque
 socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in
 amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac
 rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice ad-
 iuvisse. Id perinde, ac deberet, gratum populo
 11 Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam
 allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum

fidus Sicula regnator ab Aetna: hence some would insert here *ter* or read *tria milia*; but perhaps the poet exaggerates.

funditorum, cf. 21, 21, 12. Slingers were attached to the fifth class by Servius Tullius; 1, 43, 7. Weiss. states that this is their first appearance in the Roman army; cf. Corp. I. L. 188.

aptam, &c. 'a force adapted to cope with': *Baliares*, cf. 20, 9; 21, 55, 2; *Mauros*, cf. 21, 22, 3; 23, 26, 11.

pugnaces=*qui pugnare solent*; for abl. cf. Hor. O. 4, 6, 8: so *gladio pugnacissima gens* quoted by Quint. 9, 3, 8: *telo*, cf. 29, 4; 21, 7, 5.

9. *consilium*, corr. pre-Aldine edd.: *consilio* P. The conj. *classe* for *classem* is needless (though found 30, 24, f.); cf. 39, 14; 26, 42, in.: see also 21, 27, 1; ib. 56, 9.

et hostes, i.e. as well as the Romans: for *et*=*etiam*, cf. § 11; 21, 1, 5; ib. 48, 7; ib. 23, 6; Caes. once uses the phrase *et ipse*=Gr. *καὶ αὐτός*.

minus, &c., 'less freedom', lit. 'space'; cf. 10, 39, m.; 7, 38, f.;

also 2, 24, m.; 5, 5, f. Pol. 3, 96 states that the Carthaginians, after the Roman successes (mentioned 20, 3) prepared a fleet which sailed to Pisae.

10. *responsum...est*; for separation of part. from auxiliary (Madv. 209, b. 1, objects to calling *sum* the copula and subjoined word alone the predicate) cf. 6, 12; 21, 14, 3; ib. 57, 14; Madv. 465, a, 4; Kühn. 315.

regi, Müll. after Luchs reads *regis legatis*.

uno tenore, &c., 'he had consistently ('uniformly') maintained his loyalty'; cf. 15, 1; 47, 5 (where it='steadily'), often =*continue* (*continuatio* is used synonymously with it 41, 15, m.), see my Selections from Phaedrus &c. 24, 10: *ex quo*, 'from the time that' &c., i.e. since B.C. 263, cf. 21, 50, 9; Pol. 1, 16, 8.

11. *civitatibus*=free-states or republics (=populi 21, 43, 11), viz. Paestum and Neapolis, cf. 32, 4—9; 36, 9.

gratia, &c., 'though they accepted the kindness of the act'. For *et* cf. § 9.

Romanum; Victoriā omenque accipere, sedemque 12
 ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis
 optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam
 volentem propitiāque, firmam ac stabilem fore
 populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et fru- 13
 mentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad
centum viginti navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio
 propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae,
 permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse,
 in Africam traiceret.

12. *se*, i.e. the Senate, representing the Roman people.

dare dicare, note asyndeton in religious formula, as *optimi maximi*; cf. 10, 2; 21, 17, 4; see also 21, 15, 4; Kühn. 285. Evander dedicated a temple on the Palatine to Victoria, daughter of Pallas; Dionys. 1, 33. Other chapels were dedicated to this goddess by Postumius (10, 33, f.) and by M. Porcius Cato (35, 9, m.); cf. 26, 23, m.; 29, 14, f.; see also 24, 41, m. Thus the goddess Nikē had a famous temple at Athens, Paus. 1, 22, 4. (Cf. Smith's Greece, pp. 216, 391.)

Iovis, cf. 9, 10; 10, 3 and 9; 21, 63, 8. The statue of Victoria would stand in the *cella* of Jupiter, while the temple contained a *cella* on either side, that on the left dedicated to Juno, and that on the right to Minerva, cf. 1, 17; Dionys. 4, 61. The Capitoline Jupiter was the one called Optimus Maximus; cf. Keightley 452, 455.

sacratam, cf. 21, 38, 9; *vol. prop. q.* to be taken adverbially, though we might also translate 'she will be compliant and gracious, firm and steadfast to the R. p.' Cf. 1, 16, 3; ib. 55, 4;

Sil. 5, 167. Cf. the use of the verb *indigeto* in reference to patron deities.

13. *traditum*, cf. 27, 30, 5; Madv. 214, a.; Kühn. 69 (n).

ad, following *additae*, cf. § 9. After this a numeral has probably fallen out of the MSS.: hence Gron. inserts asterisks: Madv. prints *centum viginti*, cf. 31, 1: the difficulty however is that this fleet would appear to have been taken to Rome, cf. 31, 6. Weiss. thinks the fleet mentioned 21, 51, 6 is the one here meant. Luterb. reads *ad quinquaginta* (cf. 21, 51, 7). If we suppose that the 25 ships under Pomponius united with the 50 under Aemilius (21, 51, 6 and 7), the reinforcement here mentioned would have raised the fleet to 100. Doer. supports the tautology of vulg. *navium classem* by 34, 3 (vulg.).

cum T., cf. 21, 47, 6: *T.* is corr. of Aldus: P reads *m̄*.

erat, late MSS.: *erant* vulg. after P. For phrase *e re p.* cf. 11, 2; 6, 22, m.

traiceret; the concluding words from *permissum* are repeated in 28, 45, m. P and one of the best MSS. read *traicerent*.

XXXVIII. *Innovation in raising the levies. Varro's boastful language contrasts with Paulus' moderation.*

- 1 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum
2 *ab* sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum,
quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab
3 tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem
nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum
conventuros neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad
decuriatum et centuriatum convenissent, sua vo-

1. *ab sociis ac* Adv.: vulg. after P *socii ab*: on *dum* cf. 21, 8, 1.

nomine L., cf. 57, 10; 21, 55, 4: the phrase = *civitates nominis Latini*. Cf. 55, 5; so *n. Etruscum* 7, 17, m.; *n. Hernicum* 9, 42, f.; *Sil.* 14, 70. Aeschines has τὸ ὀaths ὅρῳα.

milites. Tum, &c. Vulg. *Milites tunc* (placing full stop after *venirent*).

2. *quod nunquam, &c.*, cf. 8, 6. Formerly each soldier was only obliged to take the general military oath (*sacramentum* 2, 24, f.) of obedience to the commanding officer or officers, in addition to which, on entering a *decuria* of horse or *centuria* of foot, they voluntarily took a mutual oath (*iusiurandum*) to act in the manner stated in § 4. Now, however, this voluntary oath became compulsory, and, instead of it being taken individually, it was administered to all the troops at once. Occasionally, in times of special peril, this general oath had been administered. Now it becomes a rule of the service. See Frontin. *Strat.* 4, 1, 4; *Pol.* 6, 21, 2. For method of taking oath cf. *Diet.*

Ant. s. v. *Iusiurandum*, (p. 662). Wölfl. attributes the remark to Caelius Ant., who was versed in legal antiquities.

3. *nam...fuerat*: vulg. after P places this sentence after the following one *iussu...abituros*: the transposition is due to Crévier. The last sentence was the old formula, and therefore improperly placed after *milites*; cf. 2, 32, in.; 3, 20, 3. Vulg. reads *adacti, iussu &c.*, omitting *milites* of P and best MSS. Heerw. after Drak. brackets *milites iussu...abituros* as a gloss on *sacramentum*.

eam, cf. 22, 11: *iniussu* = adv. (Rob. 1239), often with gen., cf. Kühn. 177; we may compare *incultu, inconsultu, invocatu* (*intactus*, Lucr. 1, 454, is rejected by Lachm.).

ad decuriatum, &c. 'for division into decuries and centuries' (cf. 6, 2, 6), i.e. into companies of 10 in the cavalry, and of 100 in the infantry, strictly speaking, though the *centuria* was reduced to 60. The cavalry attached to a legion (= *ala*, cf. 21, 45, 2) = 300, subdivided into 10 *turmae* or troops of 30 men, each *turma* containing 3 *decuriae*, each com-

luntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati 4
 pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque formidinis ergo
 non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli
 sumendi aut petendi [et] aut hostis feriendi aut
 civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos 5

manded by a *decurio*. The infantry of a legion was divided into 10 *cohortes*, 30 *manipuli*, and 60 *centuriae*, each of the latter being commanded by a *centurio*; cf. 21, 54, 3. The above rendering is better than to translate 'when they had assembled to the number of a decury' &c. Madv. reads *ad decuriandum aut centuriandum*; but the pass. use of the acc. of gerund is not found in Livy, though instances are found in other writers; cf. Rob. Synt. p. lxvi; but cf. 52, 6; 21, 58, 10. Duker omits *ad* and takes *decuriatum* and *centuriatum* as supines = 'that the soldiers might be divided into decuries' &c.; but this passive use wants support: Doer. understands *tribuni* as subject, 'that the tribunes might divide the soldiers into decuries' &c. For the ἀπαξ λεγ. *decuriatus* and (in this sense) *centuriatus* cf. 21, 38, 8, and for a fuller list Kühn. 385.

convenissent, cf. 21, 4, 4: *s. voluntate*, 'voluntarily', cf. 21, 2, 4; ib. 58, 2 (where poss. pron. is, as often, omitted); for a different use cf. 16, 3.

4. *coniurabant*, in a good sense, where *con*=*una*, *simul*; cf. 26, 25, m.; L. 45, 2; cf. 33, 2: cf. double use of 'conspire'.

ergo, 'on account of'=*causa* (39, 6), *gratia* (all three being usually placed after their case like Gr. ἐνεκα). This prep. belongs chiefly to archaic formulae (though found in Lucr. 3, 78;

Virg. A. 6, 670), as in the decree of the Senate 25, 7, in.; cf. 1, 18, 6; *exempli et fidei ergo*, Claud. Quadrigarius, p. 220, 15 (ap. Peter H. R. R.); *virtutis e*. Corn. Sisenna, p. 293, 10 (ibid.).

ex ordine, 'out of the ranks'.

sumendi, i.e. of getting a weapon from the supply in the rear: *petendi*, i.e. of seeking a missile which had fallen in front of the enemy (10, 29, 6): it would have been a rather dangerous operation to seek it from among the enemy's ranks, as Weiss. explains. Müll. Wfl. &c. adopt Crévier's conj. *repetendi*. Others translate *sumendi*, 'picking up a weapon of another'. Heusinger conj. *valli* for *aut* before *petendi* (cf. 8, 38, m.). Madv. brackets *et* after Ussing. Cf. Frontin. (?) 4, 1, 4.

feriendi, ἀρχαῖως, common in Sall., cf. Iug. 50, 4; so Eng. 'smite', e.g. S. Luke 22, 49.

civis, 'a comrade', 'fellow-citizen', like Gr. πολίτης. Such an act was rewarded by the *corona civica*; cf. 10, 46, in.

5. *Id*, sc. the oath: *ac* is conj. of Weiss. for *ad* of P, where one MS. has *et*: Fab. *et ad l.*: vulg. reads *a tribunis ad*, &c., though several MSS. give *ad tribunos*: we may render the ἐν διὰ δυνόν 'this was changed into a formal administration of the oath by the tribunes': for *inter se* cf. 21, 1, 2, and difference from *inter ipsos*, which involves a contrast, cf. Nägelsb. 282.

foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

- 6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus
7 mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vi-
8 disset, perfecturum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Var-

6. *priusquam ... moverentur*, resumptive of 36, 6; as there is here a simple relation of time we should have expected indic., as 21, 31, 9; but cf. infra § 8: the subj. is different in 25, 16; 29, 4; Kühn. 238.

denuntiantis ('declaring') C (second hand) and a late MS.: vulg. with P and C *denuntiantes*; for construction cf. 40, 1. See 39, 8; 49, 3.

bellum, accus. after *perfecturum*; vulg. not so well places semicolon after *haberet*, understanding *bellum* after *perfecturum*. For the accusation in *arcessitum* cf. 34, 4. His enemies maintained that this would not have happened if Fabius had at once taken the initiative, instead of allowing Hannibal to do so.

mansurum, note conditional use of fut. part. Liv. is fond of this part., cf. 12, 2; 21, 1, 4, &c. Kühn. 267.

visceribus r., 'vitals', as in 34, 48, f.; Sil. 7, 490. Cf. use of *σπλάγχνα*.

7. *vidisset*, cf. the famous despatch of Caesar after his victory B.C. 47 over Pharnaces at Zela, *veni, vidi, vici*; Suet. I. Caes. 37. *perfecturum*, i.q. *debellaturum*, 'would finish', 'bring to an

end'; cf. 21, 46, 8; 1, 19, 3. For the boast cf. Sil. 8, 265—307; Plut. Fab. 14 (p. 143 ed. Feuil-leret) 'Ἐβόα (Τερέντιος Βάρρων) ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, μένειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἔχρησι οὐ Φαβίους χρῆται στρατηγούς ἢ πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὑψέσθαι τε καὶ νικῆσειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

8. *Collegae*, &c., 'his colleague made but one speech', *op. multae* § 6.

pridie quam, &c., cf. 23, 35, 12; Vell. 2, 83 *pridie quam...relinqueres*.

ex urbe; P and two of best MSS. in u.: M² and several late MSS. *ab u.* (so Heerw.); Riem. omits prep. (so Müll. Wfl.); cf. 1, 9; it might be defended by 29, 26, 1; Nep. Mil. 1, f. (*bis*); but text is amply supported.

proficisceretur, sc. Paulus: vulg. *proficiscerentur*.

verior, &c.; for the compar. in two adjs. or advs. when two properties of the same subject are compared cf. 47, 3; 5, 44, in.; Cic. Milo 29; but sometimes the second adj. or adv. is positive; cf. Tac. Agr. 4, f.; id. A. 4, 61. Madv. 307: so in Gr. *βελτίονα ἢ πλουσιώτερον*, Lys. 19, 15 (10, 95 ed. Shuckburgh); Ar. Ach. 1078. *inclementer*, 'harshly'.

ronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, [quod ne] qui 9
 dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum,
 locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc
 togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato 10
 forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua cum
 hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus; se, quae con- 11
 silia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus,
 ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum; optare,
 ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere
 evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta 12
 sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Id sua 13

9. (*quod ne*) *qui* (= 'how', cf. 21, 30, 2; 3, 39, m.) corr. Haupt: *P quod nequi* (other MSS. *ne quis*) d.: vulg. after Valla *quomodo quis*: Gron. conj. *qui numquam d.* (sc. *fuisse*, which is harsh): Heraeus conj. *quinam*: possibly *quod ne* is due to a copyist who thought that *quod* should be substituted for *qui*, his suggestion having found its way into the text (*ne* = query): Fabri conj. (for *nequi*) *novus*: Weiss. thinks that *nequi* was substituted for original *ecqui* (cf. 21, 42, 1). See 21, 36, 3.

locorum s., 'the situation of the ground (i.e. for posting troops) or the nature of the country' (i.e. with reference to means of communication, &c.). Cf. 28, 12, 11, f. *locorum hominumque ingeniis*.

togatus, 'while he was still a civilian' (lit. 'in the garb of a c.'), cf. 23, 3; 3, 10, f. 'What the Romans call *τόγα* (says Dionys.) the Greeks call *τήβεννος*' (or *ιμάτιον*): cf. Beck. G. 408. The text is due to Muretus: all the MSS. read *locatus*.

10. *qua*, fem. because relating to a fixed day; cf. § 7; 33, 9; though Livy does not always keep to the rule; cf. 38, 3; 61, 10.

signis, &c., cf. 24, 11.

11. *se*, &c. 'for his own part he would not prematurely anticipate those plans which circumstances suggested for men, rather than men for circumstances'; cf. 23, 24, 2 *ut consilia ex rebus caperent*; Sall. I. 1, 5. The meaning is simply that men must be guided by circumstances in forming their plans. See Hor. Ep. 1, 1, 20. For *immatura* (= *ita ut im. sint*, a prolepsis) cf. 21, 33, 3: for *praecipere* cf. 21, 20, 8; 6, 26, in.; 10, 26, in.; see also 41, 9.

essent in or. obl. = *erunt* in or. rect., cf. 21, 33, 9; Rob. 1787—8. *prospere*, &c., cf. 34, 5; 40, 3; 21, 21, 9.

12. *praeterquam*, cf. 21, 10, 1; Kühn. 355.

ad id l. = *ad hoc tempus* (Sall. I. 102, 8), not 'in this conjuncture', Ch. and B.; cf. 25, 19, m. (it occurs six times in Livy); for the temporal use of *loci* and *locorum* with *id*, *interea*, *postea*, &c. cf. Ter. Eun. 1, 2, 46 (Parry's note); Lucr. 5, 791; Kühn. 84; but Sall. C. 45, 3 has *ad id loci venerunt*.

13. *Id sua*, &c. 'This was self-evident', viz. from his speech;

sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

XXXIX. *Fabius warns Paulus to beware of the rashness of Varro no less than of the attacks of Hannibal. He recommends caution and vigilance.*

- 1 "Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem,
L. Æmili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis,
2 supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni
consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica

s. sponte does not = 'from his own disposition', nor is it to be joined with *praepositurum*, as some propose; cf. 10, 36, in. *sua sponte pugna coepit*. For *Id Gron.* reads *et*, contrary to MSS. (so *Madv. Müll. &c.*): *Paulum* is to be understood before *praepositurum*.

tuta sc. consilia (cf. 21, 50, 8); cf. 9, 32, 3; *Herod.* 3, 65, 4; *ib.* 7, 194, 2: *quo id*, &c. 'that he might carry out this policy with greater firmness'; for the transitive use of the verb cf. *Hirtius* (?) *B. A.* 18, m.; *Cic. pro Quint.* 24.

Q. Fabius; with the speech attributed to him by *Livy* cf. *Sil.* 8, 300 sqq.; *Plut. Fab.* 14 (p. 143 ed. *Feuilleret*).

1. *Si...supervacanea esset...nunc*; for this regular structure cf. 25, 10; 60, 6—7; 21, 13, 1—2 (where *Wf.* reads *venissem*: *nunc, cum*, &c.); *ib.* 40, 1—3; 1, 28, 9; 32, 21, 1; 34, 31, 1: *oratio*, cf. § 3; 40, 1 and 4.

tui; the personal pron. is always in gen. after *similis*; for other words *Liv.* uses both gen. and dat. with this adj., but for perceptible outward resemblance the dat. exclusively, cf. 12, 5; 60, 18; 21, 54, 3; *Kühn.* 124—5.

2. *et duo boni...et mali*, hypothetically, 'if ye were both good consuls...if ye were bad'; cf. 34, 5; 21, 43, 5.

me indicente, 'without any suggestion of mine': this is *Gron.*'s acute correction, which *Drak.* subsequently found in a late MS., instead of *indigentes* of P and most MSS.: before *Gron.* vulg. read *tacente*: *indicens* = *non dicens* is rare; but cf. *Ter. Ad.* 3, 4, 62 (where a gloss in the *Bembine MS.* says the word occurs only here); *Cic. Fin.* 2, 3 (where *Gron. conj. indicente te*; *Orelli* reads *non dicente*); so *inopinans* (31, 25, 2), *intolerans* (27, 48, f.), *insciens, insperans, inficiens*: *in* = *non* is usually combined with perf. part. pass. as 38, 33, f. *causa indicta*; cf. 5, 15, 10; *Madv.* 204, 2: for other rare words in *Liv.* cf. *Kühn.* 385.

e re p., &c., 'in accordance with the interests of the state and your own honour': *que* is due to *Perizonius*; *Drak. conj. ac*: vulg. with P omits it; but cf. 29, 10, m.; 38, 8, m.; this is better than with *Bauer* to render the vulg. 'through your faithfulness': for *e* (never *ex*, though *C. Phil.* 3, 15, 38 has *exque re p.*) *re p.* cf. 11, 2;

fideque vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et col-
legam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum
omnis oratio est, quem video nequicquam et virum
bonum et civem fore, si, altera parte claudente re
publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potes-
tatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus cer-
taminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futu-
rum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam
ille hostis maneat te. Cum illo in acie tantum, cum
hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; ad-
versus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus

Gruter (p. 503) quotes a decree of the Senate *ταῦτα γίνεσθαι οὕτως, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων πιστεύς τε τῆς ἰδίας παληται.*

auribus...animis, cf. 42, 14, 2; for *accipere* cf. 4, 611; ib. 5, 304; ib. 10, 104.

3. *Nunc*, 'as it is', transition from supposed to actual; cf. 60, 20 and references § 1.

te talem v., 'a man like you'.

virum b. et c., cf. 32, 7.

si altera, &c., 'if, when one half the commonwealth is enfeebled, bad and good counsels have the same authority and force'. The text is due to Ussing: P and one of the best MSS. has *claudet* (*reip.* P), the rest *claudicet* (so vulg. reading *resp.* with a colon): Fab. and Hwg. read *claudet resp.*: some with this reading put full stop after *fore* (*claudet*=fut. or pres.): for *claudio*=*claudico* cf. Sall. Frag. Hist. 3 *neque enim ignorantia claudit res*; Ter. Eun. 1, 2, 83 (Donatus).

4. *nescio an*, 'I don't know whether'='I almost think'=*puto*; cf. 21, 43, 3; 23, 16, 16; the phrase is elliptical=*nescio*

an aliter res se habeat an infestior, &c.: so *haud scio an* (3, 60, in.); Rob. 2256; Madv. 458.

hic=Varro, cf. 22, 19; so Plut. Fab. 14 (p. 143 Feuilleter) *διδάσκων* (Φάβιος) ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῷ μάλλον, ἢ πρὸς Τερέντιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται: cf. his speech in Sil. 8, 300.

maneat te. P and all MSS. *maneat et*, &c.; vulg. *maneat*: cum illo, &c. Riem. *te, cum tu cum i.* &c. (so Müll.): for *maneat te* cf. Sil. 8, 303.

5. *t. certaturus es...erit...est op.* (vulg.): P reads *t. si certaturus est*, &c. and, with all MSS., *p...sit...sit op.* hence Bekker reads *t. sis c. et* retaining following subj. depending on *nescio an* (so Fab. Weiss. Wfl.).

legiones, note application of this to Carthaginians, cf. 21, 3, 1.

t. equitibus, for abl. cf. 3, 9: with *tuis* cf. *suos* 29, 4, though Minucius shared command (27, 10, op. system now adopted 41, 3). Wölfl. is hypercritical in saying that *equitibus* comes first as Paulus commanded the cavalry at Cannae; 45, 8; 49, 3.

ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est, Varro dux tuis
 6 militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi
 causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul
 demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere;
 hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo
 consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra vi-
 7 deat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc
 procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos
 ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum
 8 et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic,
 quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit,
 aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc
 ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris
 9 cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum

tuis m., i. e. by stirring them up against Paulus, as Minucius had done against Fabius; 12, 12.

6. *Ominis*, &c. The connection is—'though I should like to say nothing about Flaminius, whose name bodes ill luck, still I must observe that it was only when consul in his province that his madness broke out, whereas Varro', &c.; cf. 21, 63, 14; 9, 19, f.; and use of *ominari* 3, 61, m.; 23, 43, 14; Virg. A. 2, 190; Cic. Off. 2, 21, 74; also Plautine *praefiscine dixerim*; for *tamen* 1, 12, 1: for *provincia* cf. 21, 17, 1.

furere...insanit, the former a transitory passion, the latter continuous madness: for Flaminius' acts cf. 21, 63, 7; 22, 3, 7 and 18. Cic. Tusc. 3, 5, 11 draws the distinction *ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insaniam*: the verb *furere* often implies the attempts of demagogues injurious to the state (cf. Cic. Pis. 20, 47: see 3, 7 and 9) and might therefore apply to such favourites

of the populace as Flaminius and Terentius.

hic sc. insanivit: for subj. *peteret* cf. 29, 4; *priusquam v.* = 'without waiting to see', cf. 31, 2; 1, 17, 9; but cf. 50, 8: *consul* = 'when he is consul'.

7. *qui*, late MSS.: P and one of best MSS. *quia*: *procellas*, governed by *ciet*: *iactando*, 'by bragging about': *togatos*, cf. 23, 3. *et ubi*, for change of construction cf. 21, 51, 5.

8. *denuntiat*, cf. 38, 6; 49, 3: for *aut...aut* cf. 21, 30, 11; Nägelsb. 525: *cladibus*, 'manifold disasters'; for plur. cf. 56, 4.

hoc, 'the present', i. e. defensive system; cf. 1, 55, 9.

9. *tempus* = *καιρός*, 'a proper time ('leisure') for'; cf. 21, 43, 9 (with infin. = 'it is time to do a thing').

adversus unum (i. e. *Paulum*), 'in your presence alone' (the case would be different if he were addressing the Senate or assembled commons); cf. § 17. Fabius means that he does not

est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet (stultorum 10 iste magister est), sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque, donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; 11 omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis, viris, equis, commeatibus iuvant iuvabuntque: id 12 iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris derunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos

wish to boast about his superiority as a strategist, but merely to indicate what is now the only proper method of warfare. Some refer *unum* to Varro on account of *ne...quidem* § 17; for *unum* Burm. conj. *vanum*, Gron. *hunc*, Rup. *Varronem*: for *adversus* = *coram*, *apud* cf. 21, 10, 2: for a different sense cf. 28, 42, f.

et ego, after ed. 1531: P and most MSS. *ut ego*, where it might stand = *licet*.

modum excesserim, 'I should be inclined to go too far' (or 'to exceed limits'); cf. *superari modum* L. 45, 8; *extra modum sumptu prodire*, Cic. Off. 1, 39.

ita...habet = *οὕτως ἔχει*: vulg. with late MSS. omits *se*; cf. *bene habet* (*καλῶς ἔχει*) 39, 50, m.; so *male se habet* (*κακῶς ἔχει*) Cic. Off. 2, 6, 22. The vulg. cannot be defended by Ter. Ad. 3, 3, 10 as *se haberet* is now the accepted reading, and Liv. elsewhere always inserts *prep.*; cf. 5, 5, f.; see Ter. And. 2, 3, 4; but cf. Hor. S. 1, 9, 53.

una = *una solaque*; cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 6, 1; Iuv. 8, 20: *ratio*, 'rational plan', 'method'; in § 10 *ratio* = 'rational calculation'. The rational mode of

warfare now (*nec me unica fallit Cunctandi ratio* Sil. 8, 331) forms subject of §§ 11—15, while the teaching of results (*eventus*) forms that of §§ 16—17.

10. *docet*, cf. *doctos* 21, 34, 2; see also 21, 10, 9; for the sentiment in *stultorum*, &c. cf. Hom. Il. 20, 198; Hes. Op. 218; Plat. Symp. 222, B; Aeschin. Ep. 5, 4 *ὥσπερ οἱ ἀφροὺς πολλὰ διδάσκοντες*. I would suggest the omission of *est* (after *immutabilis*), as embarrassing the sentence.

11. *omnia circa*, cf. 21, 7, 5: for asyndeton in *armis*, &c. cf. 21, 28, 2; ib. 55, 4; Madv. 434; Kühn. 285; Nägelsb. 559.

12. *id*, &c., 'such a proof of their loyalty'; cf. 1, 34, 10; Fabr. conf. 21, 5, 4. In this war the Romans found their allies to be their main support. Mommsen remarks that 'it was not the *Cunctator* that saved Rome, but the compact structure of its confederacy'.

meliores, i.e. as soldiers; *bello* is usually added, cf. 24, 8, f. *meliolem bello: tempus diesque*, 'the lapse of time', or 'time and circumstances'; these words are connected also 2, 45, 2; 42, 50, in.

- 13 *tempus diesque facit.* Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia;
- 14 *nihil usquam sui videt, in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec*
- 15 *his paucis iam victus suppeditat.* Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam

13. *omnia*, cf. 6, 5; *inimica* refers to disposition, *infesta* to its outward expression; cf. 28, 29, m.: *moenia*, 'fortified towns'.

in diem rapto (late MSS.: P *capto*; but cf. 7, 25, f.), 'on each day's pillage', explained by 40, 8; cf. 4, 10, 1; Virg. A. 7, 749; ib. 9, 612; Sen. Ep. 70, f. *iniuriosum est rapto vivere*; for prep. cf. 23, 6; 36, 3; Hor. S. 2, 7, 10; distinguish sing. from pl. *in dies* § 15: for part. neut. sing. cf. 21, 33, 7.

14. *partem...t.*, cf. 21, 40, 7. Hann. led 90000 foot and 12000 horse across the Ebro (21, 23, 1), while Pol. states that only 20000 foot and 6000 horse entered Italy (cf. 21, 38, 2), and in this sense Hann. had less than a third of his original army. On the other hand his allies from Gaul and Liguria raised his numbers to 40000 foot and 10000 horse; cf. 46, 6: *quem* best MSS.: *quo* later MSS.: for *traiecit* with double acc. cf. 45, 5; 21, 23, 1; 26, 42, in.; *quo* might be supported by 30, 24, f. *ut classe Aegimurum traiceret*.

absumpti conj. Heerwagen: *vulg. fames...ferrum absumpsit* (so 23, 19, 17): P and two of best MSS. *fame...ferro absumpsit*; cf. 2, 42, m.; 30, 6, m.; note alliteration, as 26, 6, 16. For the state-

ment cf. 11, 4 (where Fabius cuts off supplies) and 21, 40, 9.

victus late MSS.: P and two of best MSS. *uictum*: the latter might be supported from 37, 7, m. *omnia nobis suppeditabit*, taking Hannibal as subject from § 13; but the intransitive use is simpler here, as in 1, 55, 7: Weiss. is wrong in saying that Liv. always uses it thus, i.e. = *suppetit*, *superest*; cf. 37, 53, m. *commeatus suppeditavi*. Cf. 40, 8.

15. *sedendo*, 'by sitting still'—the Fabian tactics; cf. 14, 14; 21, 48, 10.

qui senescat, &c. 'who grows feebler every day'; cf. 21, 53, 2; 1, 22, 2; cf. also Menander's *γηράσκει χάρις*, op. *ἔχει τὴν ἀκμὴν* = *vigere*, *florere*; for subj. (as involving the notion—'one who is such', or 'in such a position as to'—) cf. 49, 17 (*gessissent*): for *in dies* denoting increase (op. *quotidie*), therefore generally found with comparative, cf. 21, 11, 11; ib. 48, 8: see Laur. Valla quoted by Forc. s. v. *Dies*.

non supplementum, omitted in Drakenborch's ed.; *supplementum*, 'reinforcements'; these were not sent by Carthage until after the victory of Cannae, 23, 13, 7; but cf. 11, 6.

habeat? Quamdiu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae 16
inopis, tanquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet?
Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Ser- 17
vilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide, quemad-
modum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est
via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi
magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod 18
hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus,
quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus
ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, ad-

16. *pro Gereoni*, cf. 23, 9; Kiepert places this town in the country of the Frentani north of Apulia. *Sedet* is conj. of Perizonius, which he thinks was omitted on account of following *sed*: to this Fabri objects as Hann.'s inactivity was due as much to Servilius and Atilius, and therefore no special credit belonged to Fabius himself; nor can he refer to their services, if he claims to have kept Hann. thus powerless: therefore he prefers to understand with Gron. (and vulg.) an Aposiopesis after *moenibus*—Fabius being on the point of saying 'how long have I kept (*sedere coegi*) H. before the walls of G.', when he checks himself. Cf. 50, 7. Late MSS. variously read (after *moenibus*) *pugnatum est* (so Tauchn.), *pugnabimus*, or *pugnat*, while two have *instat*. Valla states that the first (*pugn. e.*) was inserted by Petrarch. We might suppose that *sed* has thrown out *sedet* and that L. wrote *m. sedet*. *Ne &c.*

Carthaginis, i.e. as if he were defending Carthage itself, he is now keeping guard over Gereonium, as his supplies are there. Pol. 3, 107 states that the Roman and Carthaginian camps faced each other during the winter and

spring.

17. *ne a. te quidem*, i.e. not even before Paulus, who, unlike the rest, would give credit to his words; he prefers to cite the achievements of the late consuls: cf. § 9.

q. de m. g. conj. Alschefski: *P quidem gloriabor*: for *de me* vulg. has *ego*.

gloriabor, because Fabius had begun to blockade H. at Gereonium.

Cn. Servilius: P has *p. servilius*: Luchs omits *praenomen*: for its absence before *Atilius* cf. 32, 1: *proximi*, 'last year's cos.'; cf. *superioris anni* Suet. Caes. 23. For *ludificati* cf. 18, 3 and 9; and for the assertion cf. 32, 1—3.

una salutis &c.; note Virgilian ring: cf. Virg. A. 2, 387; ib. 6, 96.

infestam, 'dangerous'; Fabius returns to his statement in § 4; cf. 12, 11: *tibi* is read by one MS.: vulg. has *sibi*, though not found in pre-Aldine edd.

18. *Idem...volent*, i.e. to fight at once. Note chiasmus in *consul R. P. imp.* Cf. Kühn. 326.

resistas...resistes; the verb implies a successful resistance (cf. 21, 57, 3), and is used of the party attacked, while *obsisto* belongs to those attacking; so *resto* op. *obsto*; cf. 21, 41, 15.

- versus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria neque tua
 19 falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis
 20 saepe aiunt, extinguere numquam. Gloriam qui spre-
 verit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto,
 tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli
 vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam
 stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet
 21 Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego,
 ut nihil agatur, moneo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat,
 non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia

famam rumoresque—i.e. open reports and secret rumours; 'popular opinion and idle rumours' C. and B; cf. Cic. Sen. 10: *falsa* = 'unmerited', 'undeserved', or 'so-called'.

si satis: Madv. inserts *si* before *adversus*: I have retained vulg., as it is much more likely to have dropped out before the syllable *sa*.

19. *Veritatem*: P a *veritate*, which the scribe no doubt connected with *moverit* as an opposition to *falsa*.

laborare, &c. 'is too often eclipsed (or 'obscured')', an allusion to lunar phenomena as *extinguere* shows; cf. Virg. G. 1, 478. Livy clearly borrows the thought from Polybius (13, 5, 6) ποτὲ δὲ πολλὸν χρόνον ἐπισκοπισθεῖσα (ἡ ἀλήθεια), τέλος αὐτῇ δι' εὐτυχίης ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ καταγωνίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος. This is better than to take *laborare* as in 6, 2. For post-position of adv. cf. 6, 9 *stratam...foede*.

aiunt...frequently applied to proverbs; cf. 7, 13, 7; Ter. And. 4, 5, 10; so in Gr. ὡς φασί, τὸ λεγόμενον.

extinguere n.: Weissenborn compares Publ. Syr. 63 *bonum quod est, supprimitur, nunquam extinguitur*.

20. *veram* sc. *gloriam* &c.; for the sentiment cf. 2, 47, f.; 4, 57, m.; 29, 14, 7; Hor. O. 3, 16, 25; Cic. Off. 2, 43. Instead of *gloriam* Madv. adopts Muretus' conj. (*vanam*), while the latter reads *famam*.

Sine...vocent, so 2, 40, 5 *sine...sciam*; Rob. 1606: for subj. cf. 49, 10; 53, 12.

timidum sc. *te*; this was Minucius' charge against Fabius, 12, 12. Note Paronomasia in *imbellem...belli*, cf. 21, 58, 8.

Malo...metuat; for subj. cf. 49, 3.

21. *Nec = neque tamen*, cf. 21, 51, 3; on the force of *ego* cf. 29, 8. *moneo* two late MSS.: Madv. *suadeo*: Gron. conj. *velim* after *fortuna*, as P has *uae*, though probably the copyist was about to write *tuae*, which he actually does afterwards. I would suggest insertion of *hortor*, which might have fallen out after *agatur* on account of similar ending. See Fabius' advice to Minucius 18, 8.

tu tuaque: vulg. after late MSS. *tuaque*: P *tutuaque* (corrected): hence two of best MSS. *tutaque*. Note *tu* followed by *sint* instead of *sis*: *ut* is to be supplied before *sint* and the other subjunctives.

sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia 22 non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca."

XL. *Paulus, having replied, joins his forces. Hannibal, being in want of supplies, is eager for a battle.*

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, 1 magis fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum 3 effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; at

neque (oc.) = *et ne* or *neve*, cf. 10, 5; 21, 22, 6; but double *neque* in this sense is rare: *tuae*, 'favourable to you', *suam* 'favourable to him', cf. 1, 56, 8; 4, 58, 1; Ter. And. 4, 1, 3—4; so in Gr. Pol. 17, 18 *ὁς ὁ καίρος*: cf. use of the other personal pronouns. For *deesse* = *negligere* cf. 21, 27, 7. Note similarity in sound between *desis* and *des*. For *occasio* cf. 21, 8, 7; ib. 35, 2; 1, 11, 1.

1. *Adversus ea*, 'in reply to this'; for a different sense cf. § 2; 39, 9; 21, 63, 3; ib. 10, 2.

oratio c. P (2nd h.): *P oratio c. oratio*: perh. L. wrote *Adversus eam orationem c. oratio*, &c. Cf. § 4; 39, 3.

haud sane, cf. 21, 2, 4: *laeta*, 'cheerful', 'hopeful'. Join *magis vera*. Cf. proverb 'easier said than done'. The subj. of *diceret* is *Fabius*.

2. *Dictatori sc. Fabio, magistrum sc. Minucium*.

intolerabilem, cf. *vix tolerabilis* 27, 1: *consuli* is the corr. of

Florebellus of the MS. *consulis*, the double gen. here being objectionable.

quid...fore, cf. 1, 5. Strictly speaking one consul might veto the action of another (cf. L. 2, 18; ib. 27); but Paulus would scarcely venture to do so in the case of a popular man like his colleague.

3. *p. incendium*, 'the fire of the popular fury'; cf. 25; 3: cf. his message after Cannae, 49, 10. See also Cicero's use of *semius-tulo*; and cf. *ἡμικαντος, ἡμικλεκτος*. These words give the reason for his fearing the *suffragia iratorum*, if he should be put on his trial; cf. 49, 11: as we should say, 'a burnt child dreads the fire'.

prospere ev., cf. 38, 11; 21, 21, 9: *prospere venirent* P and several MSS. including two of the best: Heerw. thinks that the MS. read. may represent an original *prospera evenirent*, as *e* was often written for *ae*.

at (*sed* conj. Heerw.) *si*: MS.

si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

- 4 Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, pro-
sequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem
sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum digni-
5 tates deessent. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo
exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova
minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus
6 maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum

etsi: Müll. would strike out *et*, making an asyndeton.

caderet late MSS.: P and most MSS. *caperet*, which could hardly stand for 'if he met with any misfortune': for *cadere*=*accidere*, *incidere*, *evenire* cf. 35, 13, f. *si quid adversi casurum foret*. Bauer would read *adverse*.

se, connect *se obiecturum caput* &c.: for the thought cf. Cic. Mil. 30; ib. Mur. 87. In *caput* there is probably an allusion to its political meaning, as in 60, 15.

4. *Ab*, 'immediately after', cf. 34, 2; 21, 16, 5; 26, 15, in.; 1, 1, 4; also 21, 29, 2; ib. 36, 7. Cf. use of *e* 49, 11.

sermone, because a dialogue, but *oratio* (§ 1 and 39, 3), because of its artistic form.

prosequentibus, &c. As an antithesis cf. the departure of Flaminius—21, 63, 9. *Prosequor*=*deduco*, *πρωέμω*=to attend or escort as an honour—more fully *officii causa prosequor* (26, 19, f.). It was usual for friends and dependants to attend the consuls when leaving the city for their provinces, cf. 42, 49, in.

conspectior, 'more conspicuous' (used as compar. of *conspicius*), cf. 24, 5; 21, 4, 8; and Gr. *ἐρώσιος*.

quum dignitates, &c. 'although no men of worth' (or 'position', 'notabilities', 'dignitaries') were

found among them. The text is reading of P and most MSS.: Madv. Emend. Liv. 249 objects to this, saying *dignitates appellari ipsos homines dignitate et honestate insignes prorsus barbarum est*, and reads *dignitas deesset*: vulg. t. *quam dignitate conspectior* (one MS. having t. c. *quam dignitates deessent*). But the abstract is often used for concrete, as Cic. Sext. 51, 109 has *honestates civitatis*=respectable citizens; ib. Fam. 4, 8, 2 *dignitates hominum amplectitur*. Plaut. Poen. 5, 4, 5 *venustates=pulcræ puellæ*. Cf. our 'celebrities' and the vulgarism 'the quality'; also *βλῆ* and *ἔ* in Homer: see 45, 4. For other instances in Latin cf. Kühn. 64 ('Personification of Abstracts in Plur.'). Cf. 25, 17.

5. *castra*, apparently still in the neighbourhood of Larinum, while the Carthaginian camp lay near Gereonium; cf. 18, 8.

castris bifariam &c. 'two distinct camps having been formed in such a way that' &c. For *ut=ita ut*, cf. 43, 4; 45, 4. Liv. does not say *binis* (as in 44, 1), as only one fresh camp is pitched, the original one being enlarged. Cf. 10, 21, 12.

propius H., cf. 21, 1, 2; so *proximus tribunus*, L. 8, 32.

robur virium, 'the flower of

anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quanquam 7 parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim 8 nihil ex raptis in diem com meatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem, quicquam reliqui erat, omni

the army', 'the choicest troops', i.e. the veterans or members of the legions formerly raised, as opposed to the new ones (cf. 1, § 6); cf. 6, 2; 21, 1, 2; ib. 16, 5; also the use of Gr. ἀκμή, ἄσρος. Wfl. takes it as = the main body of the forces, since the new legions were only raw recruits (41, 5).

6. *consulum*: two of the best MSS. have correction *consulem*: but Liv. frequently has partitive gen. after proper names; cf. 9, 27, 8 *consulum Sulpicius in dextro Poetelius in laevo cornu consistunt*; cf. Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 16 τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Ἀέων καὶ Ἐρασπίδης. Liv. has it especially with names of towns; cf. 33, 18, m. *Phocidis...Phanoteam*, as in Gr.; cf. Madv. G. S. 51, b.; Kühn. 78; Rob. 1290.

M. Atilium, cf. 25, 16; Wfl. thinks that the statement of Pol. (3, 109, 1; ib. 14, 6), that he remained with the army, is owing to his name being confused with that of M. Minucius, called simply Μάρκος; cf. 23, 21, 7. Val. Max. 2, 9, 8, and the Fasti make him censor B.C. 214.

excusantem, 'pleading', i.e. as a reason for leaving the army: cf. 26, 22, in.; Tac. A. 3, 11: so *defendo* with acc. = 'I allege in defence', cf. 21, 18, 2: for part. of like ending, not belonging to subst. cf. 9, 6; 48, 4.

Geminum S., cf. 32, 1: for order, *cognomen + nomen*, cf. Macer Licinius (L. 4, 23); for *nomen + praenomen* cf. Fabius Quintus (L. 3, 1). He was, however, subordinate to the consuls of the year; cf. 45, 6.

7. *parte d. a.*, 'had become half as large again'; Hannibal's judgment was based on the size of the camps, as in the case of the scouts in the Samnite war 7, 37, 8.

gaudere, for hist. inf. in conclusion cf. 30, 7; 21, 54, 9.

8. *enim*, for its position in third place, cf. 23, 12, 15: so *etenim* Hor. O. 4, 5, 17 (though good prose authors avoid this): cf. position of *namque* 50, 3. Hannibal was straitened for supplies as soon as winter began; cf. 32, 2—3. Cf. Sil. 8, 320 *Eget improbus arcto iam victu Libys*.

ex raptis &c., cf. 39, 13. Translate, 'there was nothing left out of his daily plunder'; cf. 49, 5; 25, 17: in 29, 30, m. *supero* = 'to be superior'.

reliqui erat, ed. 1518: P *reliquerat*; for part. gen. with *esse* cf. 61, 10; see also 21, 4, 9; L. 32, 13. Madv. 285, b. Some regard this as an attraction of the adj. or subst. by the subject or object; but Kühn. (79) objects to this explanation. This con-

undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, (ut vix decem dierum, 9 quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

XLI. *The Carthaginians are worsted in a skirmish. Hannibal's stratagem to tempt the Romans to a general engagement.*

1 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohi-

struction is more common in Gr.; cf. Madv. G. S. 51, c.

postquam, 'since', for indic. cf. 14, 1; 21, 12, 4; ib. 13, 4: for force of imperf. cf. 5, 6. We are here reminded of Fabius' wise measures against the invaders, 11, 4.

9. *Hispanorum*, for their military value and numerical importance, cf. 18, 3; 21, 27, 2.

transitio, sc. *ad Romanos*, 'desertion'; cf. 28, 16, f. Translate, 'the Spaniards would have deserted', lit. 'the desertion of the S. was prepared (and would have taken place), if' &c.: *fuerit*=*fuit* in *or. rect.*, cf. 37, 2; see also 23, 4; 40, 9; 59, 11; 21, 62, 6; *infra foret*=*esset* (9, 9).

si maturitas, &c. 'if the Romans could have waited till the time was ripe'; cf. *hora tempestiva* and Gr. *καιρὸς ὥριμος*. A good comment on the matter is Dio Cass. frag. 57, 24 οὕτε γὰρ τροφή ἐτι ἦν τῇ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰσθρίων ἐκεκίνητο τὰ τε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ ἡλλοτριούτο· καὶ εἰ γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ὑπεσχήκεσαν (ὑπέχω=ὑπομένω, καρτερέω), ἀπόνως ἐκράτησαν αὐν. It has been suggested to take ma-

turitas literally, i.e. 'if they had waited for the season in which the crops ripen', viz. autumn, which was approaching; cf. 43, 5. It was in the autumn of B.C. 217 that Fabius handed over his troops to the new consuls, on the conclusion of his six months' dictatorship. Cf. 31, 7; 32, 1.

1. *Ceterum*, cf. 21, 57, 5.

consulis, i.e. Varro, which however does not appear from 40, 8. Weiss. thinks that this is to be explained by a mixture of two narratives, an elaborated one, probably from Val. Antias from 40, 7 to 42, 12, and a simpler one of the same events in 32, 3 and ch. 43. Hence such repetitions as Hann.'s intended retreat (32, 3), the Spaniards' readiness to desert, Hann.'s attempt to break up his camp unnoticed and Statilius reconnoitring in c. 43.

praepropero, pre-Aldine edd.; *prospero* P: for *consulis* to be repeated, cf. 32, 7: *materiam*, 'opportunity'.

prohibendis p., 'checking' ('driving off') (Carthaginian) plunderers'. The connection of the following words is *proelio orto tumultuario* ac p. &c.; cf. 21, 8,

bendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum 2 Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius ea die (nam alternis imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante, 3 emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni

7: *procursu*, 'in consequence of a charge' (or 'rush'), causal abl. (Rob. 1228); Walch needlessly prefixes *ab*. Cf. 16, 2; 47, 1.

ex praeparato, 'after preparation', 'in consequence of a preconcerted plan'; cf. 45, 32, m. *ex multo ante praeparato*; *ex insperato* 2, 35, m.; *ex necopinato* 4, 27, m.; see 4, 3.

par Poenis, sc. *cum Romanis*, 'an engagement followed in which the Carthaginians were worsted'; cf. 21, 59, 8; 47, 4; op. *impar*, cf. 28, 13.

2. *Ad m. et septingenti*: old edd. *septingentos* (cf. 50, 11): but cf. 21, 22, 3; 4, 59, f.: this adverbial use is limited to numbers composed of thousands followed by hundreds; Kühn. 360; Rob. 1822—23. Heerw. observes that we cannot determine always whether *ad* is used as an adv. or prep. in connection with numerals, as these are usually written in MSS. as ciphers. So also in Gr. *els* Aesch. Pers. 341; Xen. A. 1, 1, 10: *els* and *περί* with acc. of numbers occur as subject of sentence; Krüger G. G. 60, 8, 1: cf. Suet. Caes. 20, *ad xx milibus civium* (Casaubon for MS. *ac*).

plus centum, for *p. quam c.* cf. 21, 59, 8: *occisis*, 'while...not more than...were slain'; for

part. in abl. abs. used as aorist, past in reference to writer or speaker, but contemporary with main action, cf. 21, 4; 21, 4, 10; ib. 14, 3; ib. 49, 8. Cf. § 3 Varrone...indig.

effuse s., 'in their headlong pursuit'; cf. 21, 46, 9; ib. 25, 8: join *obstitit metu ins*.

alternis, sc. *diebus*, from *die* preceding, cf. 27, 6. So Pol. 3, 110, 4 *τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ Γαίῳ* (cf. 25, 18) *καθηκούσης ἐλς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν διὰ τὸ παρὰ μίαν* (sc. *ἡμέραν* = *alternis*) *ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦς ὑπάτους*: cf. ib. 113; Sil. 9, 17 *sors alterni iuris, quo castra reguntur*: Plut. Fab. 15 *Τερέντιος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐλς τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἀρχεῖν*. See 45, 4 and 5. From the earliest times ten consuls exercised their functions month about, to prevent one interfering with the other in the discharge of his duties (Dionys. 9, 43). Cf. 2, 1, m., and passages quoted in Smith's D. A. 354, b. The 12 *fascēs* were borne before the one who was supreme for the month, 8, 12, f.

imperitabant, cf. § 5; 21, 1, 3.

3. *emissum*, &c., cf. 21, 48, 6. *debellari*, *impers.*; the prep. *de* in comp. here = removal or departure from *bellum*; so *de-*

- 4 cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud
 aegerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut inescatam
 temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime
 5 militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam
 sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare,
 duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse.
 6 Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere
 ratus, nocte proxima, nihil praeter arma ferenti
 secum milite, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae
 7 privataeque relinquit, transque proximos montes
 laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, im-
 8 pedimenta per convallem mediam traducit, ut diri-

*cresco, dedisco, dedoceo, denor-
 mo, &c.*

cessatum, *impers.* used as fre-
 quentative of *cedo* (21, 28, 11),
 'if they had not paused' (or
 'hung back'), i.e. from the pur-
 suit; cf. 21, 8, 4; ib. 11, 5.

4. *credere*: Wfl. and Luterb.
 adopt conj. of Pluygers *gaudere*
 (cf. 28, 1). Thus Sempronius
 Longus was lured to his defeat
 by a previous success, which
 Hannibal would not now forget;
 cf. 21, 52, 10—11; ib. 53, 1; ib.
 56, 1—2.

v. *inescatam*, 'would be, so to
 speak, lured by the bait (*esca*)';
 cf. 41, 23, 8, and use of *δελεάζω*:
ferocioris, 'more headstrong'.

5. *omnia...h.*, for gen. cf. 11,
 4; for *duas partes*, cf. 21, 40, 7.

tironum m...esse, 'consisted
 of raw recruits'; cf. 21, 43, 14.
 This alludes to the four new
 legions (36, 2); cf. 40, 7. For
 gen. after *esse* cf. 29, 6; 21, 60, 8.

6. *ferenti* C: *ferentis* P C²:
 vulg. *ferentes*: Madv. *ferente* (on
 the ground that the pres. part.
 ab. abs. ends in *e*. L. G. 42, 3,
 b., Obs. 2); but cf. 21, 43, 14.
 So Liv. has abl. *amni* (21, 5,
 15), *imbri* (21, 54, 9), *navi* (21,

50, 6). For the statement cf.
 21, 30, 9.

milite, corr. Weiss.: P C *mili-
 tes*: so vulg. adding *ducens* from
ducit of two late MSS.: Alsch.
 inserts *educit* before *militēs*.

omnis fortunae, 'every kind of
 property' (42, 6), exclusive of
 their baggage requisite for the
 march, § 7: Zon. 9, 1 also dis-
 tinguishes the baggage proper
 from the mere necessities of a
 hasty march; σκεύη συχνὰ κατέ-
 λιπεν ἐν τῷ χαρακώματι, καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ ἀμελέστερον κομίζεσθαι ἐνε-
 τείλατο. 'Public property' =
 tents, arms and provisions (cf.
 42, 2), 'private property' = silver
 and other valuables left in the
 tents (cf. 42, 6). For rare use
 of *fortuna* = *fortunae* cf. Hor.
 Ep. 1, 5, 12; cf. 10, 8; 21, 60, 9.
 For *omnis* cf. 61, 9; 24, 5, f.

7. *trans*, 'behind', 'beyond',
 cf. 43, 7. The hills appear to
 have occupied the right and left
 sides, enclosing a valley. *Con-
 dit* = 'conceals' or 'places', cf.
 31, 23, f., *quos in custodiam con-
 diderat*.

convallem, corr. Gron.: P *cor-
 nuallem*.

mediam ('which intervened',

piendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri 9 relictis in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII. *The snare would have succeeded, but for Paulus' wariness. Varro is about to march forth. Opportune arrival of two slaves.*

Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde 1

i.e. between the hills), corr. Madv.: P C *medium amnem* (C, 2nd h., *agnem*: M *agmen*): vulg. *convallem*, *medium agmen*, the last two words being taken as an epexegetis, 'he conveys the baggage through the valley, in such a way as to occupy the centre between the cavalry and infantry'; cf. 4, 30, m., *annum... consules*. Tauchn. *impedimenta per cornu in medium agmen*.

8. *diripiendis*, for gerundive, of. Caes. B. G. 3, 25; Rob. 1384: *dominorum*, 'occupants'.

9. *ignes*, cf. 42, 2. This common stratagem is mentioned by the writers on military tactics, as Frontin. 1, 1, 9; 1, 5, 22 and 24; Onosander 10, 5; the Emp. Leo vi. *Tact.* 11, 24.

ut fides, &c. 'to create the impression ('to make the Romans believe') that he wished to keep the consuls where they were, until he should get a good start in his flight'. For the separate camps of the consuls cf. 40, 5. Another reading is *praeriperet*, but cf. 3, 46, m.

sicut, the resemblance here

only consists in the *falsa imagine*, not referring to the camp or other circumstances; cf. 16, 6 (*ludibrio oculorum*). Zon. 8, 25 relates a stratagem on the part of Hann. in the previous year to conceal his retreat into Etruria from the Romans.

in locis, 'in their respective places': Gron. conj. *iis l.*, but cf. 21, 27, 7 (where Fab. read *profecti ex loco prodito fumo*, i.e. 'setting out from the position they occupied, they show by a signal of smoke' &c., after Pol. l.c. *σημειώσαντες ἐκείνων τὴν παρουσίαν τῷ καπνῷ*. Instead of *edito* Kreyssig reads *ex praedicto* which closely follows the Greek).

1. *subductae*, &c. is subject, 'the fact that the pickets (or 'outposts') were withdrawn', or 'the withdrawal of the pickets', cf. 34, 2; 21, 63, 7 *conscientia spretorum* sc. *deorum*. Tatham is wrong in translating *subductae*, 'were led up' towards Hann's camp, taking *stationes* = *Romanorum*: cf. 48, 5; Virg. A. 6, 524.

propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem
 2 fecit. Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, cre-
 3 bros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter
 4 velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium prae-

admirationem, cf. 30, 1.

2. *Tum* P C: *tam* P²: *Iam* vulg. *castris, concursus*; vulg. places the comma (not after *castris*, but) after *solitudine*: in *castris* is used attributively, cf. § 9: for *conkursus* cf. 7, 6.

praetoria, cf. 21, 53, 6: it was usual for each consul to have his separate 'head-quarters', even when the camps were united; cf. 8, 11, 7; 25, 22, 8.

nuntiantium, to be joined with *conkursus*, not *consulum*; for common ambiguity in use of part. in Liv. cf. 9, 6; 21, 17, 9; also 22, 18, 2. For gen. of part. without a noun cf. 43, 3; 21, 35, 4; Rob. 1075. See 54, 9 *amissi nuntiabantur*.

reliquerint, note perf. subj. in or. obl.; cf. 21, 2, 6; Madv. 382, 1.

quoque=*et quo* (*quoque*, 'also', like *autem*, cannot stand first in sentences). For its separation from (by figure *Traectio*=*Transposition*) *obscurior*, cf. 21, 2, 6 *nihil...tutior*.

3. *signa p.*, cf. 29, 2: *iuberent*, subject=*consules*: though one consul held the chief command on alternate days, his

colleague was not excluded from the council of war or from leading a division of the troops, cf. § 8; 43, 8; 45, 8; see § 4; for *ducent* cf. 21, 22, 5.

protinus, 'on their way' (lit. meaning='as they go straight before themselves'), cf. 50, 11.

unus, &c., 'an ordinary individual' (22, 7; 9, 2) of the rank and file': *unus* with gen., instead of prep., is rare.

4. *Paulus*; this was actually Varro's day of command (cf. § 7), as P. had commanded on the preceding day; cf. 41, 3.

etiam a. e., 'again and again' may be joined either with *gerund* or with *dicere*; cf. 13, 4.

seditionem, 'the mutiny', cf. 14, 1. Note repetition of word, common in Liv.; cf. 3, 15, f. *bellum ducemque belli*. Similarly Varro is called 'a ringleader of sedition' because he disagrees with Fabius; cf. 40, 2; also infra 12: *sustinere*, 'to restrain'.

Marium, probably a Latinised form of the Oscan *Maras*; cf. 23, 7, 8; ib. 35, 13. Cf. 43, 7.

praefectum, 'a captain' or 'a cavalry officer', probably the chief decurion of the troop (38, 3).

fectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui 5
ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta
ceteris iussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum in-
travit, speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat, in-
sidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castrorum, quae 6
vergat ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula aperta et
omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam
locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam
vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos 7
nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a
militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haud-
quaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum
dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quum ei sua sponte 8
cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent,

Lucana, cf. 10, 33, 1: *explo-
ratum*, cf. 4, 4; 21, 46, 3.

5. *portis*, note poetic con-
struction; cf. 5, 5: *cum cura*,
join with *speculatus*.

profecto, &c., 'they must cer-
tainly be', &c.; cf. 61, 10; 55,
4; 21, 2, 4.

6. *vergat* late MSS.: P *uer-
gant*; hence Alsch. reads *qua
vergant*.

ad hostem, i.e. the Romans:
ad C³ M: P C¹ *adinhostem*:
vulg. with late MSS. reads *in h.*

cara, 'valuables'; cf. 21, 60, 9.

in promptu, 'exposed to view';
cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 40, 118; 25,
29, 9.

velut one of best MSS.: *vel* P.
praedam, cf. 9, 5: *vidisse*, for
omission of *se*, cf. 34, 7; 50, 4;
58, 3; 60, 10; 21, 12, 4; ib. 38,
5; ib. 49, 5.

7. *deterrendos* Gron.: P *de-
terendos*: for construction cf. L.
3, 42.

orto P and two of best MSS.:
other MSS. have *sublato*; but cf.
§ 3; and for construction 21,
11, 2.

signum, cf. 21, 59, 4.

8. *ei*, often omitted; but cf.
49, 12.

pulli; the sacred chickens were
in charge of the *pullarius*; if
they came quickly out of their
cage and ate greedily, this was a
favourable omen; if otherwise it
was a bad one. These omens
were technically *ex tripudiis*.
Cf. 6, 41, 8; Cic. Div. 2, 35, 73.
Smith D. A. s. v. *Augur*.

auspicio, abl. of instrument or
circumstance = 'by (or 'at the
time of taking', Rob. 1180) the
auspices'; cf. 60, 22; 23, 14, 4;
Drak. compares *ludis* 2, 36, in.;
so *Latinis* 32, 1, m.; *gladiatorib-*
us Cic. Att. 2, 19. The *auspi-*
cium usually went with the *im-*
perium; cf. 30, 4; 28, 9, 10; 21,
40, 3. But Paulus perhaps exer-
cises the *spectio* in right of his
possessing the *auspicia minora*
for the day. See Smith *ibid*.

addixissent, 'had been propi-
tious', 'given a favourable omen',
= *admisissent* (1, 36, 6); op. *ab-*
dicere, *occinere* 10, 40, 4 and 14;
cf. 1, 36, 3; ib. 55, 3. See the

- nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit.
 9 Quod quanquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini
 tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico
 bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo in-
 10 cussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam
 prohibuere imminensem pestem Romanis; nam forte
 ita evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra iubenti
 11 consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani
 unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio
 consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fu-
 erant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique
 ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis
 12 trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum
 opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit,
 quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava
 indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

words *oscen*, *solistimum*, *soni-
vius*, *tripudium*.

nuntiari, all MSS.: vulg., after
conj. of Sabellicus, *obnuntiari*:
P. ordered the intelligence to be
communicated to V., which being
unfavourable = *obnuntiare*, op.
adnuntiare. The right of *obnun-
tatio* subsequently became such
a clog on public business that a
law was enacted *ne quis magis-
tratus minor de caelo servasse ve-
lit*, limiting its use to those who
possessed the *auspicia maiora*.

porta, abl. of way = *per* with
acc., cf. 18, 6; 21, 38, 6.

9. *Flamini*, cf. ch. 3 to 6, 4
with 21, 7 and 13, 14.

Claudi, alluding to the defeat
of the consul P. Claudius Pul-
cher at Drepanum B.C. 249, of
whom Liv. Epit. relates *iussit
mergi pullos, qui cibari nolebant*;
Suet. Tib. 2 *ut (pulli) biberent,
quando esse nollent*; Cic. N. D.
2, 3 uses nearly the same words,
who also refers to Flaminius' con-
tempt of religion; Pol. 1, 49—

52; Val. Max. 1, 4, 3; Arn. c. 40.

memorata, 'memorable', 'fa-
mous' (7, 1), not to be joined
with *p. P. bello*, which is used
attributively with *clades*; cf. § 2.
religionem, &c., 'filled his
mind with religious scruples';
cf. 33, 7.

10. *distulere*, 'postponed':
imminentem, cf. 43, 9: *pestem*,
'disaster'.

forte, here = 'providentially';
cf. 46, 8; 21, 51, 4.

11. *servi*, such as the *calo*, or
galearius, whereas the *lixa* was
a freeman.

Formiani, cf. 16, 4: *Sidicini*,
i.e. of *Teanum Sidicinum* (mod.
Teano), the capital of the *Sidi-
cini* in Campania; cf. 57, 8.

S...consulibus, 'in the consul-
ship of S. and A.'

deductique, cf. 21, 17, 3; ib.
55, 5; for *-que* cf. 21, 58, 9.

12. *consules*, &c., 'restored
the consuls' authority'; cf. 8,
13, m.; Hor. O. 1, 3, 1.

ambitio, 'the desire for popu-

XLIII. *Hannibal in want of supplies resolves to retreat to Apulia. The Romans pursue. Hannibal encamps near the village of Cannae.*

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequicquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset,

larity (on the part of Varro, cf. 43, 11, f.; 2, 27, m.)...had impaired his dignity amongst the soldiers', i.e. he courted their favour by overlooking breaches of discipline: note *suum* referring to *ambitio*, instead of the consul whose characteristic it was, = *constructio per synesin*; cf. 21, 29, 5; ib. 7, 2; 22, 57, 3: *primum* implies that afterwards Paulus lost influence.

prava i. m.: text is that of late MSS.: P reads *pravam indulgentiam maiestate*.

1. *motos*, &c., 'had rather moved from their position with imprudence, than been carried away to the extremes of rashness'; cf. 19, 10; 45, 8.

nequicquam = *frustra* (Sall. I. 25), *infecta re*, join with *rediit*; cf. 53, 9: *fraude*, 'stratagem'.

rediit; his object had been to get away unnoticed, so as to occupy a position more favourable for supporting his men: failing in this he returns. Cf. 41, 6, where he leaves his camp merely in order to draw the Romans

into an ambush.

2. *inopiam*, cf. § 3; 32, 3; 39, 14; 40, 8.

nequit most MSS.; P *nequid*: vulg. *nequibat*.

in dies, cf. 39, 15; 21, 25, 14.

colluvione, 'a medley of all nations' — i.e. Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, &c.; cf. 28, 12, 3: hardly 'the refuse of the world', C. and B., = *καθάρματα*.

3. *fuisset*: P and one of best MSS. *fuissent*: but *fremitus* and *vociferatio* are regarded as one whole; cf. Madv. 213, a.

annonam, 'scarcity of provisions', 'scanty rations'; 2, 51, in.; so *arta a.* = 'a scanty supply of corn', op. *laxaverat a.* = 'the price of grain had lowered', 26, 20, m. and f.

mercenarios, acc. after (*quum*) *fama esset*. Cf. App. Hann. 17 *δεδωκός μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μεταθεῖντο διὰ τὴν ἀμυσίαν*.

Hispani, cf. 21, 21, 2; on this and *de transitione* cf. 40, 9; 2, 25, 1: so *transire* = *transfuga fieri*; cf. 1, 27, 5.

4 ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum
 5 equitibus se proriperet. Quum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul *ut*, quo longius ab hoste reces-

6 Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis taber-

4. *fuga in*, cf. 21, 11, 13: for statement cf. 32, 3: *agitasse de f.* 'to have thought about *f.*'

ita ut, 'in such a way as to'... cf. 27, 1, m.; *ita* is sometimes omitted, cf. 45, 4.

5. *consilia*, sc. *Hannibalis*: *habitus a.* ('disposition', 'temper') sc. *militum*.

movere. The narrative of Pol. 3, 107, 6, &c. here differs from that of Livy. The former represents Hann. as marching at an earlier date to Cannae, viz. under the consuls of B.C. 217 Servilius and Atilius, where, having captured the village, seized the citadel and Roman magazines (not mentioned by Liv., 49, 13), he made it impossible for the Romans, who had pursued, to avoid an engagement. It was then that the Senate passed their decree, ἐβουλεύσαντο μάχεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, and despatched the newly-elected consuls to the army, who, a week after leaving the encampment, fought the battle. But, according to Livy, Hannibal up to this point has been encamped at Geronium.

in calidiora, &c., 'into the parts of A. that were warmer and therefore (cf. 47, 5) more adapted for an early harvest' (lit. 'more ripe for the harvest',—dat. cf. 2, 5, in.). In Apulia (cf. 9, 5) the

corn ripens in May. As the battle was fought before the harvest was gathered in, we thus obtain as an approximate date perhaps the middle of June, as the incorrect Roman Calendar gives Aug. 2 (Gell. 5, 17, 5; Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 26). Cf. 46, 1; 56, 4.

ut, quo, corr. Ascensius: P and two of the best MSS. *quod*: most MSS. have *quo* only: Heerw. after Weiss. *quod, quo*.

transfugia (= ἀποστροφῆς, ἀποτομῆς), alluding to Spaniards (cf. § 2; 21, 2), and perhaps to Gauls, noted for fickleness; cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 1, 3; 5, 37, 8; this rare word occurs in Tac. A. 2, 46; ib. Hist. 3, 61; for plur. cf. *diffugia, effugia*.

impeditiora, &c., 'more difficult for men of fickle minds': we must understand *eo* before compar. corresponding to *quo*, as in 26, 20, in. *quo minus... timoris, maiorem*, &c.

6. *similiter*, referring to 41, 9: *contineret*, 'might keep the R. where they were'. Weiss. thinks that the repetition of the stratagem may have resulted from Livy combining the narratives from two different sources (cf. 41, 1)—this portion probably from Caelius—as App. Hann. 18 recognizes only the first account. Wfl. supposes that in the ori-

naclisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per 7 eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Quum utriusque consulis 8 eadem, quae ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, assentiretur, maioris partis 9 sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Han- 10

ginal document the reference was to Hannibal's first stratagem —cf. 16, 6 sqq.

priori, in the previous instance 'surprise', not 'fear', is ascribed to the Romans.

7. *eundem*, cf. 42, 4: *trans*, 'on the other side of', cf. 41, 7; 21, 5, 3 and 17; *ultra* chiefly goes with names of towns, *trans* with rivers or the like.

de insequendo, the happy emend. of Lipsius for *die sequenti* of P.

8. *eadem*, i.e. Paulus wished to avoid, Varro to bring about, an engagement.

omnes, i.e. according to App. 1. c. 18 all the officers of senatorian or equestrian rank, composing the council of war. Cf. 21, 54, 2.

Servilium; Atilius of course would have shared in the council but for his departure; 40, 6.

9. *sententia*, Müll. and Wfl. after Luchs read *ex* before *maioris* (cf. 9, 11; 53, 10: we also find *de s.*); but for abl. cf. 17, 3; 35, 3. Compare the disagreement between Miltiades and the other nine generals (who, as in the present case, took the supreme command in turns) before

the battle of Marathon; cf. Nep. Mil. 4, f.; Herod. 6, 109.

ad nobilitandas... C., 'to render C. famous'; cf. 39, 8; 50, 1. Pol. 3, 107, &c., calls the town *Kάρυα*, Strabo *Kάρυαι*. Sil. 8, 624 follows Livy. Situated on the right bank of the Aufidus it occupied two heights, one being still called *Posta* (or *Massaria*) di Canne, where there are ruins, while the citadel probably stood on the other. A portion of the plain of Cannae is still called by the peasants *Pezza di Sangue*, 'the Field of Blood' (like Heb. *Aceldama*), either in commemoration of this battle, or of another fought in A.D. 1019 by the Apulians and Normans against the Greek Emperor. It was the scene of another battle A.D. 1201 between the Imperial troops and the Archbishop of Palermo. Marcius apud Liv. 25, 12 calls the Aufidus (or Aufidius, mod. Ofanto), 'the river Cannae'. Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1, 37; Sil. 9, 343. For its celebrated cavalry, cf. L. 27, 11, f.; Sen. Ira, 2, 2 and 5. Pol. and Sil. speak of Cannae as a 'city', while Livy calls it a 'village', § 10.

urgente, 'under the pressure

nibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento, qui
 11 campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id
 quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare
 praecipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi
 aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occaecatum
 pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi.

XLIV. *The Romans follow the Carthaginians to
 Cannae. Disputes between the consuls.*

1 Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes
 Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu
 Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem
 ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante, copiis

of'; cf. 5, 22, 8; ib. 32, 4; ib. 36, m.; Virg. A. 2, 653. Livy's fatalism breaks out even in the calm moments of serious narrative.

10. *castra p.*, i.e. on the south side of the Aufidus, close to the citadel, which he occupied. At Varro's desire the Romans pitched their camp not far off on the same side, and a smaller one on the north side of the river, equidistant from the first and Hannibal's; cf. 44, 2; Pol. 3, 107 and 111; Plut. Fab. 15 'Ο Τερέντιος...τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παραστρατοπέδουςας περὶ τὸν Αὐφιδίον ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς λεγόμενας Κάννας.

aversa, 'with his (lit. its) back to', so *aversi* § 11: *Vulturno* = the wind blowing over the Apulian Mt. *Vultur* (mod. *Voltore*), an E.S.E. wind, now called *Sirocco*. Hann.'s camp therefore faced north-west. A. Gell. 2, 22, 10 states that the Greeks usually called this wind *Euronotus*, as it lay between *Eurus* and *Notus*—though they sometimes called it simply *Eurus*. Cf. 46, 9; Sil. 9, 495. For river of same name, cf. 15, 4.

campis, for abl. cf. 4, 6: for

the 'drought' of this district cf. Hor. O. 3, 30, 11.

11. *aversi*, qualifying *pugnaturi*.

terga; acc. instead of dat. is not found in pre-Livian prose; cf. 12, 5; 21, 32, 13: so in Gr. ἐπιπνέω takes both acc. and dat.

p. effuso, 'by the clouds of dust', 'by volumes of d.' C. and B.: Walch against MSS. reads *offuso*, = 'in their faces' (cf. 46, 9), so Madv. Wfl. (2nd ed., though in 1st he follows MSS.) &c.; cf. 33, 7, 8. See 19, 6. Heerw. quotes 33, 7, m. *propter effusam caliginem*. Zon. 9, 1 mentions a strange fact ('*Ἀννίβας*) προήρσε πάντα τὸν τόπον ὑπόψαμμον ὄντα, ἵνα κονιοπρὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀρθῇ. *pugnaturi*, cf. 21, 21, 6; ib. 32, 2; ib. 44, 3; ib. 52, 6.

1. *et in*, corr. Gron.: P and most MSS. *ut in*: vulg. *ubi in*; cf. 14, 3. On *bina* cf. 43, 10.

Poenum, prob. = *Poenos*, while second = *Hannibalem*. For *habebant*, imperf. of continuing state, cf. 14, 1.

eodem...divisis, 'separated by nearly the same distance as at G.'; cf. 40, 5—6; 39, 16. Pol.

divisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, 2
aditum aquatoribus ex sua quiusque opportunitate
haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen 3
castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius
aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habe-
bat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nactus, 4
locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium
invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules,
derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione

3, 110 says that the interval was about 10 stadia (i.e. a little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles), while they were somewhat further from the Carthaginians.

2. *Aufidus*, C and late MSS.: Müll. Wfl. &c., with the other MSS., read *Aufidius*, and in § 3 *Aufidium* after Plut. Fab. 15 and Ptol. 3, 1, 15. The mod. Ofanto rises a few miles west of Conza. Hor. speaks of himself as born close by the river—O. 4, 9, 2. It is still celebrated for its noisy force in winter; cf. ib. 3, 30, 10; ib. 4, 14, 25; Sat. 1, 1, 58: for its shallowness in summer cf. Sil. 10, 180; ib. 11, 510.

castris, sc. *Romanorum*; for dat. instead of *ad* with acc. cf. 42, 5. Paulus and Varro occupied the larger camp, while Servilius probably had charge of the smaller, as before (40, 6; 45, 6).

aquatoribus, Zon. 9, 1 says that Hannibal threw corpses into the river, so that it became undrinkable and the Romans were forced to fight.

ex sua, &c. may refer (1) to preceding = 'as each man found opportunity', or (2) to following = 'but not without a conflict at the spot most adapted for each' (to get water).

3. *trans*, viz. from the con-

suls' point of view in the large camp, = on the west bank, where only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the Roman army was encamped, *ulterior* being its equivalent. The Carthaginians were concentrated at Cannae on the right bank. Pol. 3, 110 states that Paulus pitched the smaller camp for the purpose of protecting the foragers coming from the larger camp, and of attacking the Carthaginian foragers.

4. *nactus* P: vulg. *nactus*: *spem n.* = *sperans*, hence acc. and infin. *facturos (esse)*: *locis* = *in l.*, cf. Rob. 1170: *natis* (cf. 4, 2), because level.

qua parte v., 'in which arm', i.e. cavalry; cf. 21, 41, 4; for statement cf. 21, 47, 1; Pol. l. c. states that Paulus, seeing that the ground was favourable for cavalry, in which the enemy were superior, wished to avoid a battle. He encamped, finding it impossible to lead his army safely away.

derigit, for spelling cf. 19, 11; 45, 4: some distinguish *derigo* = to arrange in a straight line, from *dirigo* = to arrange or direct on different sides; cf. Plaut. Curc. 3, 54 (though reading is doubtful); while others explain *di-* = *dis-* in sense of *completely*, like *dispereo*.

5 hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus ex-
 6 emplum Fabium obiiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis
 7 et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiactis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

5. *seditione*, cf. 42, 4; *discordia*, cf. 41, 3; 45, 1. Livy, while following Pol. from here to c. 47, omits the speeches attributed to Paulus and Hannibal.

Fabium P and best MSS.: later MSS. *Fabii*: but for apposition cf. 31, 12, in. *Pleminium* .. *exemplum*; Hor. Ep. 1, 2, 18 *exemplar Ulixem*.

Sempronique, cf. 21, ch. 53: *Flamini*, cf. 3, 7 and ch. 6: for *que...et*, cf. 54, 3; 21, 30, 2; 1, 43, 2.

V. *Paulo*, the second word, wanting in MSS., was added by Wesenberg: *speciosum*, 'attractive' C. and B.: *obiiceret*, 'taunted him with', 'cast in his teeth'.

6. *hic* = Varro: *penes*, especially with notions involving praise or blame; cf. 21, 52, 11.

velut M: *uel* P, C; cf. 42, 6: *usu* (edd. before Gron. *suam*) *cepisset* (vulg. not separated; cf. *respublica*, *magnopere*, *omnimodo* &c.), 'had obtained a prescriptive right to I.', having been there for two years, which by the

Twelve Tables constituted ownership of immoveable property on Italian soil; on *usucapio* cf. Justin. Inst. 2, 6 (Sandars p. 138); see 1, 46, 1 *usu possederat*.

se constrictum, &c. 'he had his hands tied', 'he was tied down'; cf. Cic. *Sest.* 7, 16 *beluam...constrictam legum catenis*.

ferrum, &c. 'the sword and arms' (in general): *a...adimi*, cf. 25, 8.

7. *ille*, construct. = *quum ille* (*Paulus*)...*diceret*, corresponding to *testaretur hic* § 6.

proiectis, 'exposed', 'sacrificed'—lit. cast forth as good for nothing—cf. 2, 27, 11; infra 60, 14 *si tanta...faciet*; so *proicere vitam*, *infantem*, and *prodigum vitae*.

inconsultam, 'ill-advised', cf. 23, 7, 8: *exsortem* c., for poetic gen. cf. 49, 7.

videret, sc. Varro (= *videat* in *or. rect.*).

tam p. C (not in P or other MSS.): with adj. supply *esset* (or *vigeret* from following); construct. = *manus* (*eorum*) *quibus* &c.

XLV. *Skirmishing. Paulus abstains from an attack. Varro, succeeding to chief command, crosses the Aufidus. Roman array.*

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus 1
teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei
tenuerat instructam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet
copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris 2
Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam 3
inconditam turbam quum vixdum in ripam egressi
clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque
pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti
sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario 4
auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo
una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen derigerent-
que aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii
eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die 5

1. *altercationibus* (ἀμφισβήτησις Pol. 3, 110; cf. ib. 112), cf. 44, 5, and similar dissension between Sempronius and Scipio before battle of Trebia—21, ch. 53.

ad multum d. (=ad m. diem, Cic. Att. 13, 9, 1), 'till late in the day': cf. 52, 1; 2, 3; 15, 1; 28, 8; 59, 4; 21, 33, 7.

ceteras, prolepsis, referring to Numidas (equites); cf. 21, 62, 6.

2. *ex m. c.* connected attributively with *aquatores*=τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάττονος στρατοπέδου ὑδροφόρους: cf. 21, 11, 13; infra 50, 4, ex l. c.; 21, 25, 14.

3. *inconditam*=incompositam, 'disorderly', 'undisciplined'; cf. 21, 57, 12.

in stationem (prep. wanting in P and nearly all MSS.), 'to an outpost'—cf. 21, 4, 7: *prope*, adv., cf. 1, 14, 4; for use as prep. cf. 21, 1, 2.

evecti s., 'rode on to'—cf. 19, 10; 43, 1.

4. *adeo* Pal. 2: vulg. omits;

so Weiss., Fabri. &c. as *ut*=*ita* ut, cf. 43, 4.

auxilio (rare for *auxiliis*, cf. 21, 8, 7; ib. 22, 4), 'irregular auxiliaries', for the Numidians stood to the Carthaginians as their auxiliary troops did to Romans.

iam etiam, more often *iam et*, cf. 15, 1; 48, 1; 21, 48, 7.

ea modo, &c. 'the only reason which kept the Romans (i.e. those in the larger camp) from at once crossing was the fact that the supreme command' &c.: for *teneo*=*retineo*, *prohibeo*, cf. 19, 10.

derigerentq., cf. 44, 4: *Madv. di*:- for *summa i...*p., cf. 15, 8; 25, 14: *fuerit*, due to *tenuerit* by attraction, cf. 21, 40, 2.

5. *p. d. V.* corr. Alsch.: *P uarro p. d. uarro*: P (2nd h.), *C u. p. d.* (so vulg.): *cui* P, C: Riem. Müll. read *cuius* after Lov. 4, and Pal. 2; cf. 41, 3; but the accumulation of gens. is awkward.

Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare
 6 quam non adiuuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius)
 7 Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad

sors, cf. 35, 5. If the consuls commanded alternately, there could be no need of drawing lots, though this may have been adopted at the outset; otherwise *sors* may simply mean that *chance* brought about the battle that day.

signum, Sigonius adds *pugnae* from one MS., against all the rest; cf. Plut. Fab. 16 τὸ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν, the signal being a 'red ensign' (χιτῶν κόκκινος) hung from the general's tent; cf. 3, 9: *f. traduxit*, cf. 21, 23, 1.

magis, &c. 'though he could not approve of the measure, he was yet bound to support it'; cf. 44, 7: *magis...quam* (unlike *potius...q.*) negatives one member; cf. 21, 5, 3. Eutrop. 3, 10 says *contradicente Consule altero* (i.e. Paulo).

6. *Transgressi*, sc. *consules*: in c. min., probably under command of Servilius, cf. 40, 6.

instruunt aciem, corr. Weiss.: P *instructa acie*, followed by vulg. *instructa a.*, while Fab. refers *ita* to preceding words: Hwg. conj. *instruunt cunctam aciem*.

flumini p.: though it is not distinctly stated on which side of the Aufidus the battle was fought, yet as the Romans faced south

(46, 8; 43, 10) and had their right on the river, it seems evident that it took place on the left or north bank, as Niebuhr, Swinburne and others hold—against Arnold (3, 137) who places it on the right bank. Cf. Map in Dict. Geog. s.v. Cannae.

R. equites, 'cavalry', not 'knights' in political sense—cf. 21, 59, 9. As there were eight legions, with 300 Roman and 600 allied horse attached to each, we should have expected 7200 at the battle, whereas all the cavalry only amounted to 6000, due doubtless to death and other causes, cf. 36, 2—4; Pol. 3, 113; App. Hann. 17.

pedites: it is remarkable that Varro posted the Roman infantry, in which he was so much superior to Hann., in column, rather than in line; cf. Pol. l.c. πυκνοτέρας ἢ πρόσθεν τὰς σημάδας (maniples) καθιστάνων καὶ ποιῶν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ βάθος ἐν ταῖς στείραις τοῦ μετώπου. Raleigh thinks that, as this formation had succeeded against the elephants in the first Punic War, Varro unwisely adopted it, though opposed to superior cavalry.

7. *extremi*, 'on the extreme flank'; for adj. cf. 21, 8, 12 *medium*. App. 7, 21 surely exaggerates.

medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenere, Terentius 8 laevum, Æmilius dextrum; Geminio Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI. *Hannibal crosses the Aufidus, and marshals his troops. Roman disadvantage from the wind.*

Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia 1

rates in making the left wing rest on the Adriatic!

intra, adv. depending, like *ad medium*, on *tenuerunt*, as = *locum intus*, τὰ εἰς: *pedites* here = allies, while § 6 = Roman legions.

cum c., conj. Drak.; MSS. *ex c.*, so vulg. (having no stops after *Romanis* or *tenuerunt*, and placing colon after *iaculatores*): Riem. reads *ex*, but strikes out *iac.* as a gloss: Gron. conj. *iac. et cetera l. a. auxilia*; for *l. armorum* cf. 3, 9.

auxiliis, i.e. either the *velites* (21, 55, 11) or allies: note constr. *iac....a. facta*, where as usual part. agrees with foregoing predicative noun: some against MSS. read *facti*; but cf. Madv. 216 and obs.; on the other hand cf. 21, 15, 1 *praeda fuerant*.

8. *tenuere* Alsch.: P *tenuerent*: vulg. *tenuerunt*; cf. 1, 2.

G. *Servilio*, cf. 32, 1; for position of *nomen* cf. 21, 11, 1. Pol. 3, 114, 6 makes Atilius occupy the same post as his colleague; but cf. 40, 6.

media p. (= *m. acies* 27, 48, 4) 'the centre was entrusted to' &c. For the battle cf. Pol. 3, 113 sqq. and App. H. 19 sqq.

1. *luce p.*, the order is re-

versed 28, 8; cf. 21, 21, 8. In the account of Hannibal's preparation for the fight Liv. and Pol. do not mention circumstances narrated by App. and Zon., viz. that corpses were thrown into the river, and the ground was ploughed up by Hann. to make the dust more intolerable to his foe, that cavalry were placed in ambush, and the Numidians ordered to pretend to flee as far as the mountains. The statement about the ploughing made by Zon. and Dion Cass. finds its counterpart in the similar device of Marius (Frontin. Str. 2, where sun, wind and dust likewise cooperated against his enemy; cf. Plut. Mar. 26 = battle against Cimbri).

Baliaribus, cf. 4, 3: *transgressus*, Pol. 3, 113, 6 says that Hann. crossed the river in two places—κατὰ διττοὺς τόπους. Müll. agrees with Arn. in supposing that the battle took place on the right bank between Cannae and the sea; while Weiss., with Nieb. and Momms. (3, 130), thinks it was fought on the left, in the bend formed by the Ofanto between the hamlets of Medico and Elefante, which seems to harmonise best with Sil. 9, 219, 227, 237. If App.

armatura praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque
 2 traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque
 equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Roma-
 3 num equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus
 datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum
 utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii
 4 Galli atque Hispani./ Afros Romanam [magna ex
 parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad
 Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum
 5 captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae
 fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prae-
 longi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis

i.e. were correct, and the Roman left rested on the sea, while they stood on the right bank, then the Carthaginian left, also resting on the river, could not have faced the Roman right, as asserted in § 2.

quosque, not *quemque*, because the allusion is to large divisions or brigades.

2. *Gallos*, &c. (=the heavy cavalry, op. Numidians, who were light), sc. *locabat*—some wrongly put a colon before *Gallos*. Hann. surpassed his foe by about 4000 horse. Cf. § 6.

3. *m...firmata*, 'the centre (45, 8) being formed of infantry'. Cf. 21, 46, 5; ib. 56, 2. Hann. had only 40,000 foot against the Roman 80,000. Hann. usually placed the Gauls in the centre to bear the brunt of the battle, while he tried to preserve his African troops. Cf. 47, 7; 21, 56, 2. For *ita ut* cf. 43, 4.

Afrorum, &c. 'either side (i.e. of the centre) consisted of Africans'; note plur. for sing., as 21, 57, 5 where *quaeque*=*quisque locus*.

Galli a. His., these were advanced in crescent shape beyond the Africans. Cf. 47, 5.

4. *Afros* (=subject): P *Afro*: Alsch. Riem. *Afrorum* (governed by *aciem*, cf. 21, 3): Wfl. brackets *magna e. p.*, repetition being clumsy.

For *crederes* cf. 24, 4; 7, 12.

armati, cf. 9, 4. Pol. 3, 114 says that all were thus equipped: *et...ceterum*, 'not only ... but chiefly'. Cf. 21, 18, 4.

magna e. p., 'for the most part', so acc. occurs.

5. *scuta*, &c., 'shields of nearly the same shape', i.e. as the Roman shields held by the Africans, or meaning that the Gallic and Spanish shields were similar. The shields were long enough to cover the entire body, but were narrow. Cf. Rich s.v.

dispaes, &c. 'differing in size (or 'use') and appearance'.

sine m., 'pointless'; cf. L. 38, 17; Pol. 2, 33; 6, 23. During the Hannibalic war the Romans exchanged their small sword for the heavier and longer one of the Spaniards. Cf. Pol. 6, 23.

quam caesim assueto petere hostem, brevitare habiles
et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium 6
harum quum magnitudine corporum, tum specie
terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi;
Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore
miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium
peditum, qui tum steter in acie, milium fuit quad-
raginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant 7
sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem
Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu 8
de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita steter,
peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis
in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem versis; ventus 9
(Vulturum regionis incolae vocant) adversus Roma-

assueto p., for other construc-
tions cf. 18, 3; 21, 16, 5; ib.
33, 4.

brevitate, for abl. cf. 11, 6.

habiles (op. *inhabilis*) sc. *gladii*. Cf. Pol. 2, 30; 3, 114.

6. *Ante alios* Madv.: P *ante-
talius*: vulg. after Gruter *ante
ceteros* (= *prae ceteris*): Gron.
sane et alius (for *alius* cf. 21, 27,
6): join *ante a. terr.* 'especi-
ally (lit. beyond the rest) formi-
dable'; cf. 42, 60, 2.

quum...tum, fr. one good MS.:
P and nearly all *tum...tum*,
which can only = *modo...modo*.

nudi, for characteristic of
Gauls and their 'plump' (*fusa*)
bodies cf. 38, 21, 9.

praetextis p. t., 'bordered
with purple'; for abl. cf. 21, 62,
5. For this statement and the
following cf. Pol. 3, 114 τῶν μὲν
Κελτῶν γυμνῶν, τῶν δὲ Ἰβήρων
λινθοῖς περιπορφύροις χιτωνίσκοις
κεκοσμημένων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια,
ξενίζουσαν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν
συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι τὴν πρό-
σῳν.

steter Luchs: P *steterent*:

vulg. *steterunt*; cf. § 8; 1, 2.

7. *Hasdrubal*, cf. 16, 8—not
to be confounded with Hanni-
bal's brother, 21, 22, 2. App.
H. 20 says that Hanno, nephew
of Hannibal, commanded the
left.

Maharbal, cf. 51, 2; 21, 12, 1;
Pol. 3, 114, 7 states that the
right was under the command
of Hanno, while App. l.c. states
that Mago held that command.

Magone, cf. 21, 54, 1.

8. *locatis*, may be either abl.
abs., sc. *iis* (cp. 31, 6), or dat.
in apposition to *utrique parti*,
governed by *obliquus erat*, =
'shone sideways on', it being
morning; cf. 45, 1.

steter, corr. Doujatius: P
statere: C *stare*: M *staret*: one
MS. *starent*, others *stans*: vulg.
steterunt.

9. *Vulturum*, cf. 43, 10;
Sil. 9, 495 (Drakenborch's note).
Weiss. remarks that the Sirocco
is particularly severe in June,
when the battle was probably
fought; cf. 56, 4. But though
App. 20, 22, 23, Zon. 9, 1, Po-

nis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII. *Battle of Cannae* (mod. Canne, in Neapolitan province Terra di Bari). *Defeat of Roman by Gallic and Spanish cavalry. Repulse of Gallic and Spanish by Roman infantry, who are surrounded by Africans.*

- 1 Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae;
- 2 frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis,
- 3 hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrin-

lyae. 6, 38, 4 and others lay stress on the effects of this wind at Cannae, Pol. is silent about it.

vocant, sc. eum, cf. 1, 4, 5: *adversus* (= *ex adverso*) &c. 'blew straight against the Romans', C. and B.: Liv. might have written *Romanos*, taking *adversus* as prep. instead of adj., but cf. 21, 21, 9. Compare the similar description 21, 58, 3. With *p. ademit* cf. Thuc. 4, 134.

1. *ab*, not in MSS. (its omission probably being due to following *au...*), added in pre-Albine edd.: for impersonal use of verb cf. 50, 2.

levibus a., cf. 3, 9. The light troops, having begun the attack, then fell back behind the main body, as 21, 46, 6.

equestris m. p., cf. Sall. Hist. 55 D. *more equestris proelii*: the usual method consisted of wheeling about (ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς καὶ μεταβολῆς Pol. 3, 115, 3) and charging repeatedly, the Romans

having perhaps borrowed from the Parthian tactics; cf. 21, 52, 11; 31, 35, 5; Tac. A. 6, 35. Liv. explains by *Pedestre* &c. § 3.

2. *frontibus a.*, 'face to face', cf. Sall. I. 59, 3.

ad evagandum..., 'room for manœuvring', 'for evolutions', i.e. for wheeling to left or right (cf. 23, 47, 5), to avoid attack or to assail the enemy in flank: on *claudebant* cf. 5, 6.

3. *In directum* (vulg. *di...*) &c. 'they (the cavalry) pressed forward on both sides...till each man seized his antagonist and endeavoured to drag him' &c.; note loose construction, where we should have expected *detrahebant*, which is used in sing. because of apposition *vir*; cf. 25, 19, 6 *consules diversi*, *Fulvius in agrum Cumanum Claudius in Lucanos abijt*. Vulg. removes stop after *claudebant*, placing colon after *nitentes*, taken as acc. = 'so that they had

que nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide refe-

to press forward', which is harsh; moreover Hwg. says we should have had in *transversum*. On *vir v.* cf. Hor. O. 3, 1, 9; see also ib. 2, 18, 15. Liv. follows Pol. 3, 115, 3 *συμπλεκόμενοι κατ' ἄνδρα παρακαταβαίνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων*. The dismounting of cavalry in battle was frequent; cf. 21, 46, 6. For *turba* cf. 21, 33, 7, and its case 46, 5.

acrius q. d., cf. 38, 8. Pol. l.c. states that the Carthaginians slew most of their opponents in this encounter, while they cut down many of the remainder in their flight to the river.

4. *Sub...f.*, 'towards the end', cf. 21, 2, 1.

par, dum Madv.: P and most MSS. *parum*: vulg. *pares* (placing colon after *pugna*), where *ordines* may=Roman infantry, *Gallis* &c. being dat. after *pares*, or we may supply *Romanis* after *pares*, taking *Gallis* &c. as in 4, 1: Weiss. conj. *parumper*, which is contradicted by following statement: cf. 52, 4; 21, 55, 8: *constabant*, 'stood firm', 'were unbroken', which Pol. 3, 115, 5 says was only 'for a short time', op. *diu* § 5.

5. *connisi, obliqua*, corr. Lips.: 14, 8 (Seeley).

P *consiliaequa*: *connisi aequa* Gron. (so vulg.). The 'sloping front' means that the Romans threw forward the wings of the infantry in a concave curve, enclosing the Gauls and Spaniards formed in a 'column' or 'crescent' (*μηρίσκον* Plut. F. 16), whose horns seem to have faced the Carthaginian lines: cf. Pol. l.c. *πεπυκνωκότες* (i.e. the Romans) *ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα*. Fab. reads *aequa*, comparing 36, 44, in.; see § 8: cf. Pol. 3, 113 *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθείας*, also *ἐπὶ μίαν εὐθείαν*.

acieque d., 'by their close formation', the maniples having closed up, diminishing the usual intervals.

cuneum (a wedge-shaped) 'column'= *acies cuneata*, termed *porcinum caput* by Vegetius (Gr. *ἐμβόλον*), op. the *forfex*; Cato mentions another Roman formation called *serra*. Cf. Marquardt R. A. 5, 416.

nimis t., cf. Pol. l.c. *τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπὶ λεπτόν τεταγμένων*.

a cetera, &c., cf. Plut. Fab. 16 *ἐμβόλῳ...προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος*.

6. *Impulsis*, 'broken'; cf. 1, 14, 8 (Seeley).

- rentibus pedem institere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum
 7 pervenerunt, qui utrinque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum
 8 prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdederē alas; mox
 9 cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc

institere Gron.: P *insistere* (so vulg.), which Fab. prefers, notwithstanding pers. *impulere* and *pervenerunt*, as Liv. often varies tenses; cf. 1, 54, 9—10.

tenore u., 'without halting', cf. 37, 10.

agmen late MSS.: P *agmine*: join *per agmen praeceps p.*

in mediam a., i.e. of the 'wedge' or column; cf. § 7.

subsidia, not 'reserves', in the modern sense (21, 46, 6), but Africans 'posted on the wings (of the centre) drawn back on either side', so that the Gauls and Spaniards might bear the brunt of the action; cf. Pol. 3, 113 βουλόμενος ἐφεδρῆας μὲν τάξιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Λίβυας αὐτῶν ἔχειν, προκινδυνεύσαι δὲ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς. Cf. § 5; 46, 3.

7. *reductis a.*, may be taken as abl. abs. like *prominente a.*, the Africans themselves being the 'wings', while *media a.* does not = the entire centre, but the centre of the infantry, consisting of Gauls and Spaniards.

8. *c. pulsus*, for part. = subst. with gen. cf. 42, 1.

aequavit f., i.e. when the advanced Gauls and Spaniards retired, they formed a straight

line with the Africans on each side, then, on falling back further, they produced a 'bend' or 'hollow' in the line.

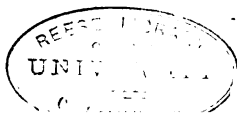
dein cedendo, corr. Alsch.: P¹ *deindetendo*: P² *deinde nitendo*; so vulg., which is taken as = 'on the Romans pressing forward', a kind of hypallage like Virg. G. 3, 215 *videndo*; cf. Pol. 3, 115, 8 ἐπόμενοι γὰρ τοῦτοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸν ἔκοντα τόπον τῶν πολεμίων.

sinum...d., cf. 21, 32, 8; Plut. l.c. ἐκφερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κόλπον λαμβάνοντας.

circa, &c. 'had already wheeled round', or 'overlapped' (lit. had formed wings or the horns of a crescent), on both sides; cf. 21, 48, 4: so Plut. *μνηοειδὴς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξίαρχοι, ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ κλιναντες.*

circumdedere a., 'outflanked the Romans': cf. Plut. *ἐρητο τοῖς κρατίστοις... περιπτύσσειν, ὁπίσθεν συγκλείοντας.*

clausere, &c. 'surrounded', an exaggeration, as Paulus, who commanded the right wing (45, 8), was still fighting beyond the outflanking force (49, 1); Pol. l.c. remarks μέσους ἀποληφθῆναι.



Romani, defuncti nequicquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnant.

XLVIII. *Defeat of Roman allied cavalry by a stratagem of the Numidians.*

Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, concertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque

while Plut. says πάντας, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκκλινάσας ἐφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατεργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.

9. *defuncti*, &c. 'who had finished one battle (with the Gauls and Spaniards) to no purpose', i.e. because they must begin afresh. Before *adversus* vulg. reads *etiam*, best MSS. *et*, while *integram* is wanting in them.

10. *eo in.*, P and best MSS. *in eo*: *fessi* includes the exhaustion from wounds. Cf. 49, 5; 52, 2; 21, 55, 6.

vegetis, 'vigorous', relating to mind, *recentibus* to body; cf. L. 6, 22 *v. ingenium*.

1. *sinistro* P and two of best MSS.: vulg. with other MSS. prefixes *in*; but for abl. cf. 1, 12; 21, 8, 2; ib. 28, 7; in such cases an adj. usually qualifies subst.

Romano late MSS.: P and most MSS. *romani*: Fab. prefers reading *Romanis*=dat., cf. 33, 10.

sociorum e., for their numerical strength cf. 36, 3.

segne, 'without spirit', for,

according to Pol. 3, 116, 5, the Numidians neither inflicted nor suffered serious loss, though they kept the Romans in check: cf. § 5: *Punica*...f., cf. 21, 4, 9.

2. *Quingenti*, some say 400, others 600: *Numidae*, cf. 46, 3; Numidians were generally employed for stratagems; cf. 24, 6: App. Hann. 20, 22 represents these as Celtiberian infantry from the centre (which better accords with *in mediam aciem* § 3, this body facing them), adding that some African troops made a feint of fleeing to the mountains, so as to give the signal to cavalry ambushed in a wooded hollow, who fell upon the Roman rear: cf. stratagem 21, 54, 4 and 9; Sil. 10, 186 sqq. Pol. is silent on the subject.

praeter solita conj. Heinsius (on Vell. 2, 111, 2): P, C, M *praeterita*: old. edd. *p. consueta*: Gron. conj. *praeter iusta a.* (cf. 38, 22, m.); Liv. 35, 11 says the Numidians were unarmed, except for their javelins; but he calls them *armati* in 23, 29, 5: *arma* = 'armour', cf. 57, 10. The 'wonted arms of offence and

- gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie trans-
fugarum quum ab suis parmas post terga habentes
3 adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque
et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis, in mediam
aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo
iubentur. / Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conse-
4 ritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos
oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis,
quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata
erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque
ferientes ac poplitēs caedentes stragem ingentem ac
maiores aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt.
5 Quum alibi terror ac fūga, alibi pertinax in mala iam
spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praecerat,

defence' = shields and javelins, § 3. Rup. takes *telaque* as epexegetis = 'arms, i.e. missiles'.

ocultos, cf. story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton: with *specie t.*, cf. Zon. l.c. *καὶ τῶας ψευδο-αυτομολῆσαι ἐκέλευσε*: note repetition of *habentes*, cf. 44, 1.

post terga, i.e. as deserters, not ready to fight.

3. *in mediam a.*; why should the Numidians have gone to the Roman centre, rather than the fronting left wing? Perhaps Liv. is mistaken; cf. § 1: otherwise we may render 'into the middle of the lines', i.e. of the Roman left wing.

considerare, &c., 'to take their post behind'; this verb is specially applied to the *triarii*, as opposed to *hastati* and *principes*, 8, 8, 10.

4. *occupaverat*, cf. 15, 6: on tense cf. 23, 4.

ar. scutis (Tac. H. 3, 23), i.e. the large oblong shield of Roman infantry (*θυρεός*), as distinct from the *parma* (*πάρμη*), or small round shield (§ 2) of Roman

light-armed and cavalry: the *scuta* would enable the Carthaginians to pass for Romans for some time. Cf. 46, 5.

corp. strata, Heerw. adopts conj. of Alsch. *c. humi s.*, based on P *corporumistrata* (cf. 10, 29, in.).

tergaque, &c., cf. 51, 7; Hor. O. 3, 2, 15—16; Virg. A. 9, 762; Sil. 4, 343; Hom. Il. 13, 212 *κατ' ἰγνύην βεβλημένος*: *aversam*, 'in the rear', cf. 24, 8; 3, 70, m.

m. aliquanto, cf. 22, 19; 21, 11, 6; see *aliquantum* 21, 12, 2.

5. *terror*, i.e. on the Roman right; *pertinax*, &c., 'an obstinate, though hopeless (21, 6, 5) conflict', i.e. in the centre (47, 10): for the Carthaginian operations on the other wing cf. § 1 and *infra segnis... pugna*.

qui ea p. p. (Riem. rejects these words as a stupid gloss); Hasdrubal commanded the left (46, 7), which had routed the Roman horse (47, 3). Pol. 3, 116, 7 more clearly says that Hasdrubal, having defeated the Roman right under Paulus, has-

subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim 6 fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

XLIX. *Paulus is wounded: dialogue with Lentulus: the consul is slain. Defeat of Romans. Varro with a few horsemen escapes to Venusia.*

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quanquam primo 1

tened behind the Roman lines to help the Numidians on the Carthaginian right, § 1; and, when the cavalry of the Roman allies gave way, he sent the Numidians in pursuit, returning with his Gallic and Spanish troops to aid the Africans in the centre, taking the Romans in rear: something may have fallen out between *qui* and *praeerat*, relating how Hasd. had passed from the left to the right. Sigon. conj. *qui laeva p.*; Alsch. *qui ea iam p. p.*; Weiss. *qui in eam partem pervenerat*; Gron., *Hasd., qua parte praeerat, victor laevum quoque Rom. cornu adortus pari fortuna, Numidas &c.*, inserting *iam* before *Afris*; Periz. *Hasd., qui victor ad eam partem penetraverat, subductos &c.* Walk. conj. *Hasd. (or Maharbal) qui iam...acie, Numidis...missis, Hisp. et G. pedites* (47, 7—8): perh. Liv. wrote *subvectus*, not *subductos*.

ex media a.—this is obscure, probably because Liv. turns from Pol. to a Roman source; Weiss. thinks that Liv., or Caecilius, has confounded the 500 Numidians (§§ 3 and 4) at the centre of the Rom. infantry with the Numidians on the right wing; else we must render—‘Numidians (those in § 1) with-

drawn from the centre of the right wing (46, 3)’: Fab. conj. *subductis ex laeva acie equitibus, Numidas &c.*

adversis, i. e. the allied cavalry § 1.

6. *equites* corr. Gron.: P and nearly all MSS. *pedites*: one of best MSS. *milites*: Fab. regards *pedites* as a gloss. Hasd. commanded the cavalry (46, 2 and 7), whereas the infantry had engaged the Roman centre and then fallen back on the Africans (§§ 5—6): *caede*=*caedendo*.

1. *Parte altera*, i. e. the centre, where Hann. commanded (§ 2; 46, 7), the Romans resisting now only there and on the left wing (hence *altera*). According to App. 19, 23 Paulus had occupied the centre from the outset, Servilius taking the left wing (cf. 45, 8). Livy’s statement here hardly agrees with 47, 3, where Paulus’ cavalry is worsted by Hasdrubal (46, 7). Pol. 3, 116, 1 states that P. passed over from the broken right wing to the centre. Livy’s obscurity is doubtless the result of combining with the Polybian narrative details from Roman sources, as in relating the battles of Ticinus and Trebia (cf. 21, 45, 1; ib. 56, 8).

primo s. p. (cf. 21, 5, 9), ‘at

- 2 statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen *et* occurrit saepe cum *confertis* Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus
 3 Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et
f. ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum renuntianti cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: "Quam
 4 mallem, *vinctos* mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre
 [proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, *quum* victi mori in vestigio mallent quam

the very beginning of the battle' (47, 1) P. was wounded by a light-armed slinger.

2. *cum confertis*, 'with a compact body of troops'; App. relates that when the left wing gave way Servilius and 10,000 of the best soldiers joined Paulus to resist Hannibal.

protegentibus: this troop apparently acted as a body-guard, like the *militēs praetoriani* to the emperor (Tac. A. 1, 24), as Plut. 16, 8 says τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, as opposed to οἱ ἱππεῖς generally: *omissis* (21, 58, 3)...*equis*, 'dismounted'; cf. 21, 46, 6 and 9; 9, 39, f. Plut. l. c. states that Paulus' horse was wounded and threw him, then his body-guard dismounted and were followed by the entire cavalry. App. H. 24 states that 'the consuls leaped from their horses'.

3. *et ad r.*, 'even to manage' (§ 7; 21, 5, 13); *et* is in P and best MSS., but omitted by vulg.; for *vires d.*, cf. 59, 8.

denuntianti P and all best MSS. but one, which has *tum deinde nuntianti*: Gron. conj. *renuntianti* (so Madv.); *denuntio*=to make a solemn or important announcement, cf. 39, 8.

ferunt, implying some doubt as to its authenticity, cf. 7, 13; 25, 19; 30, 10; 21, 2, 3.

mallem C 2nd h.: *mallem ut* C; *mallent* P (perh. due to the following one). Hannibal's ironical remark='the consul might as well have handed over at once his cavalry bound hand and foot, for, though some might have escaped on horseback, none can do so now': or we might credit H. with the humane wish that the consul had made his men submit in order to spare the inevitable bloodshed. Plut. Fab. 16 gives it somewhat differently—*ἰδὼν δ' Ἀννίβας (πάντας ἀποπηδήσαντας), τοῦτ', ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἡβουλόμην, ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον*—implying that he would rather see them thus doomed to certain destruction than taken prisoners. Plut. seems to have misunderstood Livy or his authority.

traderet (sc. *consul*), late MSS.: *traderent* P: for expression cf. Tac. Ag. 32: for *pedestre* cf. 47, 1—3.

4. *quale*, sc. *esse debuit* or *solet*; cf. 3, 62, 6: *dubia*, sc. *existente*; P adds another *iam* after *dubia*.

in vestigio, 'on the spot', 'where they stood'; cf. 21, 35,

fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen 5 iam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. / Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum 6 quum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili" inquit, 7 "quem unum insontem culpa cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, ~~dum~~ et tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte 8 consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. 9

12: for a notable instance cf. Plat. Apol. 17, in.

fugere...Pepulerunt (subj.=*Poeni*); would this have been possible if the Romans were completely hemmed in (47, 8)?

5. *iam paucos*, &c., 'the survivors (i.e. the Romans) now reduced to a small number'; for *supero* = *supersum* (§ 7), *superstes sum*, cf. 25, 17; for adj. with part. cf. 21, 55, 3.

fessos, cf. 48, 6; 52, 2: *repetebant*, cf. § 2 *omissis*; the horses were doubtless in charge of the *calones*.

6. Cn. (*Cornelius*, § 9) *Lent.* is frequently mentioned afterwards, and in L. 25, 19 as fighting against Hannibal: he was consul B.C. 201.

praetervehens, part. of *praetervehor* used as middle or deponent, ἀπαξ λεγ. in this sense; cf. 21, 22, 8; ib. 56, 9; ib. 60, 2; ib. 39, 1; cf. use of *pascens*, *versans*. Liv. generally uses the verb as transitive and of sailing; cf. 21, 41, 3; see 20, 7.

sedentem...op., note two parts.;

cf. 21, 4, 7; 3, 26, 9; for last cf. 56, 4.

7. *insontem c.*, for gen. cf. 41, 24, m.; elsewhere abl. 4, 15, m. *crimine insons*; see 44, 7: Gron. reads *culpa* here.

dum et tibi, &c.; vulg. placing colon after *equum* refers this sentence not to foregoing but to following; so Fab. as Sil. 10, 273 thus copies Livy—*Cape, quaeso, hunc, unice rerum Fessarum, cape cornipedem; languentia membra Ipse levabo humeris et dorso tuta locabo. et tibi*, i.e. 'to you as well as me', not Heusinger's 'to you as well as the republic'.

et (conj. Walch) *comes*, i.e. Lentulus proposes to sit on horseback behind him: *tollere* = 'to lift into the saddle', or 'to convey from the field of battle': note hexam. ending.

8. *ne...feceris*, cf. 21, 44, 6: *funestam* 'calamitous', 'yet sad-der' C. and B.

sine hoc, i.e. the consul's death: Gron. conj. *hac*, sc.

morte.

Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi
 10 absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit,
 praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et
 11 mori. / Me in hac strage militum meorum patere
 exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut
 accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam
 12 meam protegam." (Haec eos agentes) prius

9. *macte* &c., 'bravely said!' 'tis a brave thought of thine', C. and B.; cf. Sil. 10, 27, 8: so Gr. *ὄναιο τῆς ἀρετῆς*. Some regard this as voc. of part. or adj., others as adv. like *bene*; but it is prob. conn. with *magnus* and *μάκρ* and may perhaps be nom. like *ipse=ipsus*; the only other forms in use are *mactus* and *macti*, and it is almost always used with 2nd pers. imper.; but cf. 2, 12, 1 *iuberem te macte virtute esse*= 'I would congratulate you on your bravery': Mart. 12, 6, 7 has *macte animi=ὄναιο τῆς διανοίας*. The old grammarians take it as=*magis auctus*; it may be part. of obsolete *mago=augo*; cf. Hom. O. 24, 402; see Nettleship Exc. to Virg. 9, 641.

cave...absumas: for omission of *ne* cf. Cic. Att. 5, 21 *cave putes*; Rob. 1584.

miserando, P *mirando*: one of best MSS. has correction *morando*, which Alsch. and Weiss. prefer.

10. *patribus*, 'to the senate', cf. 32, 7: *urbem R.*, cf. 9, 3; 37, 12; so Sil. 10, 281 *urbis Claudantur portae*.

advenit P: vulg. *adveniat*, cf. 39, 6; but cf. 50, 8; L. 2, 40; the pres. indic. is used for fut.

indic., which occurs only in archaic language; cf. Rob. 1462.

Aemilium; Mentz. ed. 1518 prefixes *L.* (so Madv.); but cf. 45, 8; 53, 1; 39, 9; see 21, 11, 1.

adhuc et corr. Alsch.: P *et adhuc et*: vulg. *et a. m.*, where *adhuc* must=*praeterea* (Tac. A. 1, 17, in.), contrary to Livy's usage. Cf. Plut. F. 16 Ἀπάγγελλε, εἶπεν, ὦ Δέντλε, Φαβίω Μαξιμῷ, καὶ γενοῦ μάρτυς αὐτὸς, ὅτι Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος ἐνέμεινεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἄχρι τέλους, καὶ τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πρὸς ἐκείνον οὐδὲν ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνίκηθη πρότερον ὑπὸ Βάρρωνος, εἰθ' ὑπ' Ἀννίβου.

11. *Me* late MSS.: P *me | et*; hence Alsch. reads *memet*.

r. iterum, cf. 35, 3; 40, 3; Paulus had barely (*prope*) escaped on that occasion; cf. Pol. 3, 16—19.

existam, 'come forward' (or 'forth'); cf. L. 39, 37—*si existat ab inferis Lycurgus*; this verb does not=*sum* (though found=ὕπαρχω), at least before third cent. A.D.; cf. Scheller's Lex. s. v.

alieno c.=*alium criminando*.

12. *eos agentes* Madv.: P *exigentes*, so vulg.; both the simple and compound forms are

turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique 13 effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli 14 fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere

used = *colloquentes*. Weiss. is mistaken in asserting that Liv. always omits pron., if part. is in dat.; cf. 21, 50, 7.

oppressere = *supervenere*, 'came upon them'; cf. 50, 8; L. 10, 32.

obruere corr. Gron.: P *obruerent*; Fab. *obruerunt*; but cf. 1, 2. Wfl. observes that the perfs. in -ere are avoided by Cic., though frequent in Sall., belonging to archaic language, and their occurrence in historic narrative is probably due to the *Annales Maximi*; cf. Cato ap. Gell. 3, 7, 19.

inter tumultum corr. Gron.: P *in tumulum*; for this use of *inter* cf. 4, 18, m.

13. *undique* Alsch. (cf. 29, 5): P and one of best MSS. *unde*: vulg. *inde*: *effuse*, cf. 21, 46, 9; ib. 25, 8: on *fugiunt* cf. § 4. The 10,000 with Paulus and Servilius fought until the consuls fell, whereupon they forced their way through the enemy; cf. § 16; 50, 11.

decem in m., cf. 52, 4; Plut. l. c. μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους: App. H. 24 states that fifteen thousand men fled to the two camps.

in v....Cannas, cf. 48, 9—10; for expression cf. 21, 25, 13: Pol. 3, 107 says that Hannibal

had captured Cannae, occupied the citadel, and established his camp close by; in § 117 he speaks of fortifications as sheltering the fugitives, which does not coincide with the text: *qui* refers only to last sentence.

Carthalone a. e., cf. 14, 10: for Carthālo cf. 15, 8; 58, 7: he was slain in the storming of Tarentum B.C. 208; L. 27, 16.

tegente pre-Aldine edd.: P *tegentes*: *circumventi* s. = 'were surrounded and captured'; cf. 8, 1.

14. *alter*, i.e. Varro; cf. Plut. l. c. τῶν δ' ὑπάρχων, ὁ μὲν Βάρρων διλεγσὶς ἀφίπτευσεν εἰς Οὐέρουσιαν πόλιν: App. says he set the soldiers the example of flight; cf. App. H. 24, 27: *forte...consilio*, cf. Sall. I. 92, 6.

n....insertus, 'without mingling with any of the (three) parties of fugitives': text = Bauer's corr. of MS. *infestus*: Gron. conj. *immistus*, Perizon. *infertus*, Burm. *ingestus*; but may not Liv. have written *infestus*, meaning that Varro did not try to arrest the flight of the Romans? For dat. *agmini*, cf. 5, 5.

quinquaginta, cf. 50, 3; 23, 11, 9: vulg. has *septuaginta*, as in 25, 6, 13 and Pol. 3, 117, 2; but Liv. may have drawn from different sources, which will ac-

- 15 equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, † et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, caesi
 16 dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriorumque et aedilicii

count for his variation, if the MS. reading be correct; cf. 22, 1. C. and B. strangely translate 500!

Venusiam (mod. Venosa), a Roman colony of Apulia, planted B.C. 291 on the Appian Way, on the borders of Lucania, celebrated as the birthplace of Horace; cf. Hor. S. 2, 1, 34; ib. O. 3, 4, 9; Momms. 1, 392. See 54, 2 and 13, 1 (*Telesiam*).

15. *Quadraginta*, cf. Epit. 22, f.: vulg. reads *Quad. millia peditum*, duo &c., contrary to best MSS.: Liv. speaks in round numbers in 59, 5 and 60, 14. Pol. 3, 117, 4 makes the total number of slain about 70,000—*εἰς ἑπτά μυριάδας ἀπέθανον εὐγενῶς*. Dionys. 2, p. 89 gives 77,000, Quint. 8, 6, 26 says 60,000, Plut. l.c. 50,000 (cf. L. 25, 6, 13) *λέγονται δὲ (dicuntur) πεσείν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων πεντακισμύριοι, ζῶντες δὲ ἀλῶναι τετρακισχίλιοι* (cf. § 18): Eutrop. 3, 10, f. says *militum quadraginta millia, equitum tria millia et quingenti*, while Oros. 4, 16 gives 44,000.

d. *milia*, cf. 21, 15, 1 for repetition.

et (epexegetical = 'and indeed') *tanta*: *tantadem* conj. Madv. (so Müll.; elsewhere only the forms *tantundem* and *tantidem* occur in classical writers; cf. Forc. Lex.): P *etan*ta: Gron. conj. *tanta c. quanta s.*, or *aequa c. s.que*: Madv. had before proposed *aequata* or *rata* = 'proportioned

to their entire numbers', but the meaning seems confined to abl. If the MS. is right *tanta* = *tantadem, aequae magna*; cf. 42, 12, f. *arma vel tribus tantis exercitibus*; 45, 40, m., the *-que* being used like *ac* = *quam*, so that *tanta...s.que* = *t...quanta*; cf. Gr. *τοὺς καὶ* = *aeque ac*, Soph. O. T. 1187. C. and B. wrongly render 'as many more citizens' &c.: for plur. after *pars* cf. 21, 27, 9; also ib. 21, 13.

16. *ambo*, nom., not gen. as C. and B. made it, being declined like *duo*, Madv. 71; *ambo* is used of two, doing or suffering something at the same time, while *uterque* may refer to different occasions; with *ambo* only plur. is found, while with *uterque* sing. may be used.

L. *Atilius*, to be distinguished from the consul Marcus A. of B.C. 217 (40, 6) and Caius A. 21, 26, 2.

L. *Furius*, for others of this patrician gens cf. 35, 5; 53, 4: the cognomen = *Bibulus* (53, 2) or 'Wine-bibber'.

undetriginta, the Epit. 22, 25 gives 30; as the 8 legions had 48 mil. trib.s, 19 must have escaped; for some of these cf. 49, 6; 50, 6; 53, 1—2; Eutrop. 3, 10 states that 20 ex-consuls and ex-praetors were slain.

quidam, sc. *ex tribunis mil.*, apposition = 'some being ex-consuls' &c.; *aedilicii*, 'ex-(curule) aediles'.

(inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut 17 senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria 18 milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

L. *Battle of Cannae compared with that of Allia. Tuditanus leads 600 from the smaller camp, reinforced from larger one, to Canusium.*

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobili- 1

Servilium, he was proconsul (84, 1) acting as mil. trib.; cf. 31, 1: *Geminum*, P reads *minim*, prob. from *Minucium* following.

Minucium, cf. 8, 6; 14, 4; 24, 1: *consul*, added by Gron.

17. *octoginta*, Epit. l.c. gives 90; Eutrop. l.c. states that 30 senators were captured or slain, along with 300 nobles.

eos mag.; the *lex Ovinia*, carried prob. soon after B.C. 367, bound the censors to elect as senators those who had filled the curule offices of consul, praetor and curule aedile; Momms. 1, 325. The formula used by the consuls in summoning the Senate into the Curia is contained in 23, 32, 3 *senatores... liceret* (formula = *licet*, Gell. 3, 18); those who were eligible might speak in the Senate before actual election. The censors moreover might choose others of lower rank at discretion: 23, 23, 3—5. Some had only the right of voting and were called *pedarii*; cf. 56, 1; 1, 32, 12; 36, 3, in.; 27, 34, m.

gessissent, cf. 39, 15: *unde* = *quibus* (1, 18), 'in consequence (or 'after the administration') of which'.

quum, &c., 'and had nevertheless (i.e. though of such distinction) volunteered to serve'; cf. § 16; for *quum* cf. 51, 9; for *s. voluntate* cf. 38, 3; 21, 39, 4.

18. *Capta*; Livy apparently makes the total of prisoners = 18,700, cf. § 13; 50, 11; 52, 4; 54, 1 and 4; the allies were set free (58, 2); 48,200 were slain § 15, while those who escaped would amount to 20,300; cf. 36, 3 and 4; 54, 1 and 4; but see Momms. 2, 131.

1. *est* late MSS.: P *ex*: cf. 7, 1: *Cannensis* A. c. corr. Gron.: P *aliensi clade*: C *cannensi clades*. The Allia (mod. Aja; but cf. Smith's Geog. D.) was a tributary of the Tiber about 11 miles from Rome in the Sabine district, famous for the crushing defeat of the Romans by the Gauls B.C. 390 (B.C. 388? Momms. 1, 341, n.). The day on which it was fought—*dies Alliensis* = xv Kal. Aug. or July 18,

- 2 tate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere,
 levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus
 3 gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut
 urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas
 fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt,
 alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.
 4 Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine
 ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus erant,
 mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fati-
 gatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se trans-
 5 irent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam

became a *dies nefastus*. Cf. L. 5, 37—39; Virg. A. 7, 717—(Conington gives July 16).

nobilitate, cf. 43, 9; *ceterum*, cf. 12, 5.

2. *ut illis*, &c., 'though less serious (than the Allia) in its consequences, by reason of the enemy's inaction, yet' &c.; for perf. cf. 21, 25, 18; for *cessatum* cf. 51, 2; 21, 11, 5: *strage*, cf. 49, 11.

3. *namque*, cf. 40, 8; Caes. Sall. and Cic. always place it first, unlike Liv. and Tac.: for *ad* = 'at', cf. 7, 1; 21, 15, 6: *prodidit*, 'lost' (lit. 'betrayed'); cf. 44, 7; see 5, 38, 9: *quinquaginta*, cf. 49, 14.

alterius...fuit, 'shared the death of the other' (i.e. Paulus); cf. 21, 11, 1; 23, 14, 7; see 49, 15. Gron. conj. *mortem...luit*, as Paulus was averse to the battle (49, 7): for *totus* Rup. conj. *comes*. Several MSS. read *fugit*. If any change were needful I would suggest *altero moriente...perit*.

4. *Binis*, cf. 44, 1: *semiermis*, because the fugitives from the battle (49, 13) had thrown away their arms; cf. Gr. *ψαγος*. See 52, 2; 54, 2; Hor. O. 2, 7, 10.

maioribus. This camp, being on the right bank, would be nearest to Canusium. The fugitives would naturally assemble at the nearest point; hence this remark confirms the idea that the larger camp stood on the right bank; cf. 44, 8: for situation of Carthaginian camp, cf. 43, 10.

mittunt, i.e. to occupants of smaller camp, urging them *ut ad se* &c.

ex laetitia, &c., 'tired with feasting in honour of their victory': for noun thus joined with prep. cf. 26, 1; 45, 2: for Zeugma in *fatigatos*, cf. 21, 35, 5—6; with *epulis* it = *gravatos* (1, 7, 5), *oneratos* (Sall. I. 76, 1): Hom. II. 10, 98; Hor. O. 3, 4, 11.

Canusium (mod. Canosa), a town in Apulia, 6 m. south of Cannae, whose origin is ascribed to Diomedes. The inhabitants spoke both Greek and Latin; cf. Hor. S. 1, 10, 30: the poet complains of its scarcity of water and its gritty bread, which according to Swinburne (1, 166) has not altered its character; cf. Hor. ib. 5, 92.

abituros, note omission of *se*; cf. 18, 14; op. 21, 50, 10.

sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum aequae coniungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia 6 displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum: "Capi ergo mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur?"

5. *alii* (i.e. in the smaller camp) corresponds to *aliis* § 6: *cur...venire*, cf. 1, 5.

quum, &c., 'when the others could just as easily join them' (i.e. as easily as they in the smaller camp could join those in the larger), = *q. a. c. sibi p. atque ipsi illis*; cf. 21, 51, 7; ib. 58, 2.

videlicet, 'clearly', 'obviously'; for like compounds cf. *scilicet*, *ilicet*: *omnia*, cf. 39, 13; 21, 11, 12; Nägelsb. 84; Kühn. 50.

6. *deesse*, for infin. in subordinate sentence, cf. Kühn. 245.

S. Tuditanus: Ateius derives the name from *tudes*, = 'mallet-headed', a designation of one of the *Sempronii*; but the gen. of *tudes* has short *i* in penult. This tribune was chosen as leader in the larger camp (App. H. 26); he became consul B.C. 204; L. 29, 11—12; cf. 24, 43, 8; see 60, 8. He was ambassador at Ptolemy's court B.C. 201. For others of this plebeian gens cf. 31, 5; 57, 9; 21, 6, 3. The military tribune Cn. Octavius is said to have supported S. Tud. on this occasion.

avarissimo et c., cf. 59, 14; 21, 4, 9: *aestimari*, &c. 'to have a price set upon your heads and your ransoms to be determined, &c.', which is explained by 52, 3; cf. 7, 5; 58, 2. Riem. renders *exquiri p.* 'that you should be sold (as slaves) by auction' (*exquiro* lit. 'to ask the purchasers what price they are willing to pay'. Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 53, 133; Suet. Cal. 38); but this will hardly suit the present case, as the question is evidently put to the prisoners to ascertain whether they were Romans or allies, as money was demanded from the former, while the latter were set free without ransom.

Latinus s.; as context shows, all the allies are here meant (cf. 52, 3; 58, 2); Weiss. observes that Liv. does not elsewhere use this phrase, but either connects the two classes (27, 11; 38, 1; 57, 10), or designates both under *nomen Lat.* (7, 5; 37, 7) or as *socii L. nominis*.

tua (not *vestra*), because addressed to the individual Roman citizen: *alteri*, i.e. the Latin ally: *honos*, i.e. the privilege of departing without ransom.

- 7 Non tu, si quidem L. Aemilii consulis, qui se bene
mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissi-
morum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives
8 estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hos-
tium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati
atque incompoti obstrepunt portis, erumpamus.
9 Ferro atque audacia *via* fit quamvis per confertos
hostes. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum
agmen, ut si nihil obstat, disiicias. Itaque ite mecum,
qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis.”
10 Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque
11 facto per medios vadit hostes, et, quum in latus

7. *tu*, sc. *hoc males* (or *ita facies*) from foregoing; for Apopsiopsis, cf. 39, 16; 1, 7, 2: note change in § 6—7 from plur. to sing. and vice versa.

bene m., cf. 21, 42, 4: *se...maluit*, pron. occurs also with *volo* (L. 3, 68), *nolo*, *postulo* &c.; cf. Madv. 389, 4; but cf. § 6.

cives=*concives* (non-classical); as *πολίτης*=*συμπολίτης*: cf. 60, 16; 21, 13, 1.

8. *opprimit*, sc. *nos*, ‘comes upon us’, ‘surprises us’ (49, 12); for pres. indic. cf. 49, 10; but subj. 39, 6; Madv. 389, 2, c. When the prior occurrence of an event is to be prevented, as here, the subj. is more usual; cf. Rob. 1672, 1675.

maiораq., cf. 21, 43, 3: *obsae-
piunt*, ‘bar’, ‘intercept’: *inordi-
nati*, &c., ‘while in disorder and
confusion they clamour at the
gates’ (of the camp), the first
adj. implying that the soldiers
are not arranged in their ranks,
the second, that they are not
formed in regular divisions; the
two epithets are frequently con-
joined; cf. 56, 2; *obstrepunt* re-
fers especially to the Numidians:

portis (45, 3), late MSS.: P *por-
tas*.

9. *via fit*, cf. 5, 2; L. 4, 38.

quamvis, &c.=*per quamvis c.*,
‘however dense’; cf. 8, 3; Virg. (?)
A. 1, 3 *quamvis avido*: for trans-
position cf. 21, 49, 11; Cic. Att.
3, 10 *tam ex amplo statu, tam in
bona causa*.

Cuneo, cf. 47, 5, which *quidem*
emphasizes, cf. 21, 30, 7: *solu-
tum*, ‘disorganized’, i.e. not com-
pact in military ranks: *ut si=
quasi, tanquam*; for more usual
form cf. 21, 8, 6; ib. 41, 10.

disiicias (‘you may scatter’)
Gron.: P, C, M, Cantab. and
many others *uisscias*: late MSS.
transeamus or *transeat*: vulg.
transibimus: Riem. conj. *dissi-
cias* (fr. **secere*=*secare*): cf. Rib-
beck Scen. Rom. Frag. 2, 18—16:
for 2 pers. subj. cf. Madv. 370:
salvam v., cf. 10, 2.

10. *Haec...hostes*, note hex-
ameter and a half, borrowed from
Ennius, probably through Cae-
lius, who, according to Fronto
Epist. (p. 62, ed. Naber), had
taken much from that poet. Liv.
frequently uses this Virgilian
phrase—cf. 29, 2, m.; 3, 61, m.;

dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora castra ad sexcentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adiuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec 12 apud victos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

LI. *Maharbal vainly counsels an advance on Rome.
Scene on the battle-field.*

Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratefulentur suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime cessandum 2

Lucil. 1, 13; Virg. A. 6, 628 and often: for other poetical expressions cf. 44, 7; 21, 58, 8. See 21, 9, 3.

11. *patebat* = *apertum erat*, 'was exposed'; cf. 31, 39, f.: *Numidae*, cf. § 8; 48, 5: *translatis*, &c., cf. Caelius Hist. 1 frag. (ap. Priscian 3, 22) *dextimos in dextris scuta iubet habere*.

ad sexcentos: P *ad dc.*: Fab. *ad sexcenti*; but cf. rule 41, 2; 52, 4; 54, 1. Frontin. 4, 5, 7 states that 62 (50 foot and 12 horse) followed Semp. and Octav., cf. § 8.

inde, seems to mean 'thence', i.e. from the larger camp, and is to be joined with *adiuncto*: *protinus*, cf. 42, 3; Virg. Ec. 1, 13; Rup. prefers *protenus*; cf. critical note to Iuv. 3, 140 (vol. 1); so we find *quatinus* by side of older *quatenus*.

12. *impetu a.*, 'from the impulse of that courage, which' &c.; cf. 5, 8; 26, 1: *quos* corr. Bauer: P and nearly all MSS. *quod* (so Gron. referring it to *haec*): two late MSS. *quem* (so vulg. and

Madv.); but cf. 51, 8: *fors* 'accident', here = the force of necessity.

1. *ceteri*, as op. to *Maharbal*, cf. 21, 62, 6.

bello, because the Carthaginians thought this great engagement decisive: or we might regard it as = *pugna* (21, 8, 2).

diei...esset, 'the remainder of the day (= *rel. d.*, 15, 1; 59, 4) and the repose of' &c.; see 21, 58, 1; see 50, 4; some make *noctis* also depend on *quod r. e.* by attraction for *noctemq. insequentem*: but this derives no support from 5, 19, in. *servandae*, which is dat. not gen.: we might take *quod r. e.* parenthetically, making *diei* and *noctis* both dependent on *quietem*.

2. *Maharbal*, cf. 46, 7; Silius (10, 75) attributes the advice to Mago; Cato, Florus (*Adherbali* seems an error in 2, 6) and others agree with Livy, Plutarch assigning first part to certain friends, *vincere scis* &c. to Barcas: for *cessandum* cf. 50, 2.

ratus, "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam." Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

ut...scias...ep., we must supply *hoc dico* or the like; for omission of a verb *dicendi* or *sentiendi* in the subordinate sentence cf. 21, 18, 8; see *Madv. L. G.* 479.

die q., &c. Cf. M. Cato (ap. A. Gell. 10, 24, 6) *Igitur dictatorem Karthaginensium magister equitum monuit: Mitte mecum Romam equitatum: die quinti in Capitolio tibi cena cocta erit.* Gell. quotes nearly the same words from Caelius, *Hist.* 2, borrowed from Cato's *Origines*, which Liv. doubtless drew from Caelius.

ut prius, &c., 'that the Romans may know of your coming before they learn your intention to come'; supply from *sequere* subj. *te* (found in several MSS. though not in P or the best); it would also be possible to understand *me*; for omission of pron. before infin. (especially fut.) cf. 13, 5; 14, 15; 38, 3 and 13; 21, 13, 8 (*sc. eum*) *remissurum*; ib. 18, 14; ib. 38, 6.

praecedam corr. Gron.: P *praecedant*.

3. *nimis l. r. e.* corr. Gron.: P *nimicis l. aetare* | *set: C nimicis leta ē res et.* Translate,

'The victory seemed too joyful and too great for him to realise all at once'; cf. L. 33, 32 *maius gaudium fuit, quam quod universum homines caperent*; L. 9, 9; L. 27, 51.

pensandum, a late MS. has *prensandum*; cf. L. 30, 32; cf. *pensitare*, 4, 41, in.

temporis, gen. instead of abl., a Grecism used again by Liv. only in 23, 21, 5 *quantum argenti opus fuit*; so *usus operae* L. 26, 9; cf. Rob. 1225, 1255; like *λόγου δεῖ*, Aesch. P. 870.

4. *Non omnia, &c.*; for a similar sentiment cf. Hom. II. 13, 729—734; ib. 23, 670; Eur. Rhes. 106.

nimirum, 'of a truth', fr. *nī = ne* (so *nisi = si nī* or *ne*, Gr. *el μή*) and *mirum* (*sit*).

Vincere, &c., so Plut. Fab. 17 *σὺ νικᾷν οἶδας, νίκη δὲ χρῆσθαι οὐκ οἶδας*: for infin. cf. 29, 8; 1, 53, 8.

satis c., 'is generally believed', i.e. even in Livy's time. Plut. l. c. says that H. was hindered by some god from marching to Rome. Cf. 8, 7; see 26, 11, 4. Flor. 1, 22 says that Rome's last hour would have come, and in

Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda 5
foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insis-
tunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim 6
equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat
aut fuga; assurgentes quidam ex strage media cru-
enti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vul-
nera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes 7
vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt,
nudantes cervicem iugulumque et reliquum sangui-
nem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis 8

five days Hann. might have feasted in the Capitol, if he had taken Maharbal's advice and followed up his victory. He adds—*sed tum quidem illum, ut dici vulgo solet, aut fatum urbis imperaturae—aut ipsius mens mala et aversi a Carthagine di in diversum abstulerunt.* Cf. Prop. 4, 3, 9—10 (Paley); Iuv. 7, 161—4; for rhetorical declamations on this theme cf. Mart. 6, 19. Though Hann.'s inaction has been much blamed and his luxurious repose at Capua (cf. Lucian 10, 12, 6), and he is said to have afterwards bitterly repented that delay, yet we must remember how weak his forces were, especially in infantry, to undertake the siege of Rome, whose military population was so large, without even a requisite siege train. Cf. Nieb. Lect. 62, 2, 105. So after the victory of Asculum Pyrrhus did not venture an advance on Rome. For the results of Cannae cf. 61, 10.

5. *ad s....insistunt*: Madv. against MSS. reads *exeunt*; but for text cf. 37, 60, 2 *cogitanti... cui rei...insisteret*='set about'; Caes. B. G. 6, 5 *in bellum...in-*

sistit; for more usual constr. cf. 47, 6.

foedam, belongs to *hostibus: spectandam* s. late MSS.: P *spectandam* *strage: stragem*=abstract for concrete, cf. § 6; 21, 22, 4.

6. *ut quem*=*ut quemque: pugna...fuga*, abl. of means: *quidam*, cf. 5, 3.

stricta,= *adstricta, constricta*, 'closed'; some render 'touched', 'nipped', 'smarting from'; cf. Luc. 4, 652.

7. *succisis* (late MSS. P and one of best MSS. *succisos*), 'with the sinews of thighs and knees severed'; cf. L. 30, 18; *s...pop.*='hamstrung'; cf. 48, 5: so Enn. Ann. 8, 5 (quoted by Festus) *Is* (or *His*) *pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni*; Val. Max. 9, 2, 2 *captivos nostros prima pedum parte succisa relinquebat.*

cervicem, Cic. and Sall. always use plur., Liv. nearly always sing. in proper sense; cf. Quint. 8, 3, 35, who states that Hortensius first used the sing. contrary to ancient usage. Cf. 33, 6.

iubentes corr. Gron.: P *libentes*: the acc. (which Liv. often omits with this verb, cf. 25, 10,

in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis, quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

LII. *The Roman camps are surrendered. Eight thousand Carthaginians buried. Munificence of the Apulian lady Busa.*

1 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio

m.) understood is *hostes*: *haurire*, 'to shed', cf. 7, 24, in.; cf. *διαφύσω*, Hom. II. 13, 517; for a different sense cf. 2, 5.

8. *mersis*, &c., 'buried in holes in the ground': *superiecta* corr. Gron.: P *subiecta super*.

interclusisse s., 'had suffocated themselves', cf. 21, 58, 4: *apparbat* = ἐφαλvero, δῆλον ᾗ = objective appearance, while *videtur* like δοκεῖ is subjective.

9. *convertit*, so. in *se* 'attracted the attention of all'; cf. 3, 38, m.: *subtractus* P and two of best MSS., the third has *subractus* (t having dropped out): vulg. *substratus*.

Numida, a late MS. has *Numidae...Romanus*, but text is supported by Sil. 6, 42 (though alluding to battle of Trasimenus, 4, 1) and Val. Max. 3, 2, 11; moreover Livy's object is to prove how the Romans resisted to the last.

superincubanti, ἀπαξ λεγ.; a verb with double prep. (*vocabulum decompositum*, Madv. 206, a, 1) is rare except with *super*, e.g. *superincido*, 23, 15, 13; cf.

21, 1, 5; see 2, 8; also 8, 6; 21, 26, 8; Kühn. 385.

vivus, 'still alive', though Sil. l. c. states that both were dead: *naso* &c. refers to *Numida*.

manibus, sc. *Romani*: to avoid ambiguity Müll. prefixes *ille*. Rup. conj. *eum...hostis*, while Riem. inserts *Romanus* after *inutilibus*; but for change of subj. cf. 32, 5; 21, 41, 15; ib. 55, 2; see 6, 12.

inutilibus, explained by Val. Max. l. c. *ad retinenda arma inutiles vulneribus manus*.

rabiem, cf. 21, 48, 3; also ib. 14, 1: *versa*, found in old MS. but independently conj. by Gron.: P *versas*, hence vulg. *versus*: the text is repeated by Curt. 5, 3, 20.

1. *diei* Pal. 2, Valla: P *de*: for phrase cf. 45, 1; so *serum diei* 7, 8, m.; cf. 3, 60, m. *multa dies*: for *ducit* cf. 12, 2.

brachio, 'an earthwork' or 'line of intrenchments', cf. Hirt. B. Hisp. 5; and use of σκέλη Polyæn. p. 84. P and most MSS. place *flumine* after *brachio*, altered by Gron.: *flumine*,

obieto flumine eos excludit; ceterum ab omnibus 2
 labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius
 spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos
 traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis qua-
 drigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut 3
 eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis,
 in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in custodiam
 omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus 4

i.e. Aufidus, so as to deprive the Romans of water; cf. 44, 2; 59, 5; for abl. cf. L. 25, 11: *eos*, so. *qui in m. castris erant*, constr. per synesis.

2. *omnibus*, 'the whole force'; Crév. conj. *hominibus* (the words being often interchanged in MSS.); Walk. takes *ab omn.* = 'by all these things, toil' &c., *fessis* = abl. abs. so. *Romanis*, and *ab* = *propter* (34, 2; L. 2, 14); but this will hardly stand; Fabr. takes *omnibus* as in 21, 32, 9.

etiam, instead of *et*, cf. § 7; for position cf. 6, 11; 21, 1, 5; ib. 2, 6; ib. 23, 5; ib. 54, 3 and 7.

fessis, cf. 49, 4.

Pacti, &c., (the Romans) 'having agreed to surrender their arms and horses, and to pay 800 chariot-pieces (silver denarii) for each Roman &c.', *trecentis n. q.* being abl. of price; cf. 21, 61, 11; see 58, 4; note double construction after *paciscor*, cf. 21, 5, 12: with *in capita* cf. Eng. 'a head'. Rup. transposes thus, *traderent, et ut p. p., in cap.... centenis, cum* &c.

trecentis: most MSS. give *tricen-*
enis = 30 a piece; cf. Hor. O. 2, 14, 5: in B.C. 217 the stipulated sum was 90 denarii less (23, 6), in B.C. 241 only 18 denarii (21,

41, 6). The three sums in text amount respectively to about £10. 12s. 6d. (Pol. p. 58, 5 has *τρειςμύας* = £12. 3s. 9d.), £7. 1s. 8d. and £3. 10s. 10d.: *nummis*, *nummus* or *numus* = Sicilian *νοῦμος* = *νῆμος*, i.e. the coin fixed by law: cf. 21, 48, 9.

quadrigatis, so called as the coin bore on the reverse a representation of Iuppiter in a chariot with four horses; this money was also current among the Italian allies, who had been forbidden in B.C. 268 to issue a silver coinage of their own; cf. 23, 15, 15; Momms. 1, 465. See Rich s. v. Plin. 33, 3, 13 states that in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Max., owing to the pressure of the Hannibalic war, the *as*, which originally contained 12 ounces, was reduced to one, the *denarius* being made equivalent to 16 asses, the *quinarius* to 8 and the *sestertius* to 4. But in military payments the *denarius* was = to 10 asses.

3. *servos*, belonging to the officers; cf. 42, 11.

cum sing. v., cf. 6, 11; 21, 12, 5: *traditique*, &c., 'were put under arrest'.

4. *Dum...interea*, cf. 21, 29, 1: *quibus* = *illi q.*: *et animi* conj. Weiss.: *P ut nimis*: vulg. *aut animi*: Alsch. conj. *v. animique*.

- teritur, interea quum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque
 5 eadem condicione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est.
 6 Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissi-

hominum, i.e. 'infantry'; cf. 21, 27, 1: *agmine*, alluding to 50, 11: *Canusium*, cf. 50, 4: *perfugissent*, late MSS. *profugissent*.

tradita, cf. 59, 9. Pol. 3, 117 states that Paulus had left a garrison of 10000 men in the camp, and that, while the battle was going on, they stormed the Carthaginian camp, but, on the conclusion of the battle, they were attacked by the victorious Carthaginians, and made prisoners, their camp being taken and 2000 men slain.

5. *parta* late MSS.: P *parata*: *si quid*, sc. *erat* (cf. 31, 11), perh. omitted to avoid repetition: a somewhat similar omission occurs after *et ris*, Xen. An. 5, 3, 3; cf. ib. 2, 2, 11: *praeter*, 'except' with reference to *cetera*; i.e. the horses, prisoners and silver were not given to the soldiers as booty.

ad vesc. f. = 'plate for the table' (lit. 'silver made for eating purposes'), also called *argentum escarium* by Ulpian, op. a. *infec-tum* L. 28, 47. Scipio Afr. B.C. 134 limited the use of silver plate at Numantia: cf. Polyæn. 8, 16;

Pescennius Niger rival of Severus, A.D. 193 (Spart. P. N. 10), enacted that the soldiers should use only wooden vessels, when on an expedition.

phaleris (τὰ φάλαρα), these were properly bosses of precious metals fastened to the head-stall, throat-collar, or martingale of a horse, which was then called *phaleratus*. Cf. Xen. An. 1, 8, 7; Iuv. 11, 102; Athen. 12, 550 ἵππον κατεσκευασμένον σὺν ἱπποκόμῳ καὶ φάλαροις.

perexiguo, for *per-* 'very', cf. *perabsurdus*, *perfacilis*.

utique = *saltem*, *praecipue*; cf. 23, 3.

omnis c., this word-sequence is ἀπαξ in Liv.; for usual order cf. 20, 6; like *alia* or *reliqua omnia*; Fabr. thinks his object was to emphasize *omnis*.

6. *sepeliendi*, this verb, like θάπτω (Becker Char. 391), often includes cremation, as in 8, 24, 16; burying without burning was the other custom and practised in the gens Cornelia until the time of Sulla, who feared the fate of Marius' body; cf. Becker Gall. 515.

iussit, sc. *Hannibal*, § 1.

morum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquistum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt.

Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula⁷ nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

LIII. *The supreme command is conferred upon the tribunes Scipio and Claudius. Certain young nobles wish to emigrate. Scipio's energy and oath prevail.*

Ceterum quum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, 1 Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia App. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, 3

octo m.; Pol. l. c. makes it only 5700 (200 horse + 4000 Gauls + 1500 Africans and Spaniards, showing that Hann. spared his Carthaginian troops, making the Gauls bear the brunt of the conflict); on the other hand he makes the Roman loss = 70,000. Cf. 49, 15.

Consulem, cf. similar statements respecting Hannibal's burial of Flaminius, 7, 5; of Gracchus, 25, 17, 4; and of Marcellus, 27, 28, 1; cf. Sil. 10, 521.

7. *Apula* emend. Lips.: P *Apaula*: cf. 54, 3 and 4; Val. Max. 4, 8, 2: Busa is conn. with the Oscan names *Busidius*, on a stone at Canusium, and *Busento*. *moenibus*, for abl. cf. 19, 12; 9, 7, m.

viatico, cf. Fr. *viatique*, Gr. *ἐφόδιον*, *ὁδοιπόριον*: *perfecto*, cf. 21, 46, 8.

1. *Fabius*, note absence of

praenomen, unlike following; Weiss. thinks it has fallen out; cf. 49, 10.

de legione = legionis; from this use in Lat. the prep. passed into the Romance languages. Though the number of the legion is given here for the four military tribunes, it is omitted in the case of the tribune S. Tuditanus (50, 6), who had not yet arrived with his force at Canusium (54, 11); on the tribunes cf. 49, 16. Nothing is here said about the tribunes of legions 4 to 8. *Scipio*, cf. 21, 46, 7—8.

tertia, called *classica*, 57, 8: now as this legion did not belong to the two consular armies, but served in the fleet under Marcellus, it seems strange that it should be here mentioned, unless we suppose the tribune was there without the legion, which appears unlikely. *Claudius*

omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum *adole-*
centem et ad App. Claudium summa imperii delata
 4 est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa
 rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius,
 nequicquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam
 5 comploratamque rem esse publicam; } nobiles iuvenes
 quosdam, quorum principem L. Caecilius Metellum,
 mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum
 6 aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam

P., consul B.C. 212, died of a wound received at Capua, L. 26, 16. He was grandson of C. Caecus, Censor B.C. 312.

3. *adm. adolescentem* = *ad-lescentulum* or *peradolescentulum*, i.e. about 19, assuming that he was 17 when mentioned 21, 46, 7; cf. § 6; *ad. et, ad* found in late MSS., are wanting in P and two of the best MSS. possibly as Hug thinks because of recurrence of *ad*. Frontin. 4, 7, 9 applies the same epithet to Scipio; so Val. Max. 5, 6, 7 *admodum iuvenis*.

App. Claudium: but App. H. 26 states that Varro, on his departure to Rome, conferred the supreme command on Scipio alone, τῶν χιλιάρχων τινά: *summa imperii*, cf. § 4.

4. *inter paucos*, 'with a few others': *de s. rerum*, 'about the state of affairs', or 'the condition of the state'; cf. 21, 16, 2; ib. 29, 4; 3, 5, m.

P. Furius, probably the praetor's son; cf. 35, 5: *nequicquam*, cf. 43, 1.

d. comploratamq., 'given over for lost', lit. 'despaired of and lamented as if dead'; cf. 55, 3 and 7; *fovere, desperare* and *complorare* represent the three stages of medical care of a patient, giving him over, and the

family lamentation; *deploro* is more frequent in this sense; cf. 3, 38, in.; cf. use of *conclamare*, 4, 40, in.

rem esse p., on disjoining of *res publica* cf. 11, 1.

5. *quorum p.*, sc. *esse* = *q. princeps sit*, but acc. and infin. are used in *or. obl.* because the relative sentence = *et eorum principem esse* depending on *nuntiat*: cf. 3, 9, f.; L. 4, 51 *iacere... quum interim... exerceri* = *et interim*; Madv. 402, a.

L. Caecil. M.: Müll. conj. M. C. M. as in § 12 to correspond with 24, 28, 3; 27, 11, 12; P has l.: but cf. 24, 18, in.; ib. 43, in.; where we learn that this L. C. Met., son of the consul of B.C. 251, was degraded by the censors, when he was quaestor, in B.C. 214 for his action on this occasion; but he was elected tribune of the people B.C. 213. For his counsel cf. Sil. 10, 419.

mare ac n. &c. (cf. 19, 7), 'were thinking of flying beyond sea', C. and B.: *transfugere* = *transfuga esse*.

regum, some edd. *regem*, i.e. to offer their services as mercenaries.

6. *Quod m., &c.* 'This peril, besides being terrible, came with a fresh force after' &c.: edd. before Gron. read against best

atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait 7 in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius, quam 8 ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire 9 sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, quum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, "Ex mei animi sententia" inquit, ¶ ut ego rem pub- 10

MSS. *praeterquam quod*; but cf. 4, 17, m.; 5, 14, m.; see 3, 14.

s....torpidos d., 'had stupefied (or 'paralyzed') them with wonder and amazement'; for prolepsis=*ita ut torpidi essent*, cf. 21, 33, 3; ib. 59, 4 *confertos*: *stup. ac m.* may be taken as hendiadys='amazement at the unheard-of proposal', cf. 21, 63, 1; 1, 59, 2; see 9, 2, 10; Tac. Agr. 34: before *qui* supply *eos*, cf. 21, 23, 1; and *illi* as subj. to *censerent*: contrary to P and one of best MSS. vulg. has *d. et, qui aderant*, c. which=subj. to *censerent*; text is due to Alsch.

consilium, P and other MSS.: *concilium* late MSS. (so with *consilii*): the latter however is not used as here='a council of war' (op. *inter p.* § 4); but as an 'assembly' (§ 9); cf. 3, 8: *negat* &c. = οὐ φησὶ βουλευτέον εἶναι.

fatalis, &c., 'Rome's predestined champion', C. and B.; cf. 21, 46, 8; 5, 19, 1; 30, 28, 11.

7. *Audendum*, &c., cf. 14, 14; 21, 40, 6: *ait*, usually omitted in transition from negative to affirmative after *nego*; cf. 1, 57,

4; Cic. Att. 7, 15; ib. Off. 3, 27; Madv. 462, b: *esse* late MSS.: P repeats foregoing *esse scipio*.

salvam v.; cf. 50, 9; 10, 2.

8. *nulla* emend. Bauer: P and most MSS. *nullo* (so vulg. but this can hardly=*n. in loco*): *nullo loco* late MS. (so Fabr.): other MSS. *nullo in loco*: edd. before Gron. *nusquam*: render 'no camp more truly deserves to be called that of the enemy, than where such thoughts are entertained'; cf. Frontin. l. c. *in eo ipso, in quo talia agitantur, coetu*: for *is*=*talis*, cf. 28, 14; 39, 12.

9. *Pergit ire*, cf. 19, 4: *hospitium*, 'lodgings', 'house'; like Mod. Gk. σνίτι: *allatum e*, cf. 14, 11.

10. *Ex mei a. s.*, 'I solemnly swear that I will not' &c., like Eng. formula 'so help me God'; cf. 43, 15, 8; Quint. 8, 5, 1; *ut* here answers to a suppressed *ita* (perh. *ita me di ament*, or *iuvent*, cf. 59, 17), so that *deseram* and *patiar*=fut. indic., *iuro* (wrongly added in old edd.) being also omitted; the formula occurs more fully in Plaut.

- licam populi Romani non deseram neque alium
 11 civem Romanum deserere patiar} si sciens fallo, tum
 me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, familiam rem-
 12 que meam pessimo leto afficias. In haec verba,
 L. Caecili, iures postulo, ceterique, qui adestis. Qui
 non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse
 13 sciat." Haud secus pavid, quam si victorem Hanni-
 balem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet
 ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV. *Hospitality of the inhabitants of Venusia.*
Varro, with reinforcements, marches thence to
Canusium. Alarm at Rome.

- 1 Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venu-
 sianam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti
 pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant,
 2 pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne

Amph. 3, 2, 211: we must distinguish *ex sententia*, 'according to one's wishes' (10, 30, in.), from this formula, which = 'without mental reservation', or the *restrictio mentalis* of theology (Gury 1, 280): cf. Cic. Off. 3, 29, 108: with the formula the verb *dicere* is mostly omitted; cf. Sall. I. 85, 27. Walk. quotes from Fabrett. p. 673 an inscription on a stone, *Ex . Mei . Animi . Sententia . Ut . Ego . Iis . Inimicus . Ero . Quos . C. Caesari . Germanico . Inimicos . Esse . Cognovero*.

11. *si s. fallo* (the complete formula added *fefellerove* C. I. L. 2, 172) 'break my oath', cf. 21, 45, 8; Cic. Acad. pr. 47, 146: *tum*, late MSS. *tu me*; but cf. 10, 3; 1, 24, 8; ib. 32, 7; Plaut. Aul. 769 (Wagner): *leto*, applied to things = destruction; cp. Virg. A. 5, 690: *optime maxime* (P): Drak. conj. *optimus maxi-*

mus...afficiat: Madv. 385, obs. says that 2 sing. subj. = imper. is rare and poetical, referring to a defined person.

12. *In haec, &c.*, 'I call upon you to take this oath after me' (10, 2); for subj. cf. 39, 20; see 21, 30, 3: on *semet ipsos*, cf. 60, 24; 21, 14, 4; nom. of *ipse* is the rule; cf. 22, 14; 21, 14, 1.

1. *Venusiam*, cf. 49, 14. These fugitives had probably fled from the battle, as the fugitives from the camp hurried at once to Canusium; cf. 52, 4: for *fuerant* = *erant*, cf. 23, 3.

quingenti, P and one of best MSS. have *ad iiii milia et δ* (= D) *pedites*: in the other MSS. *δ* has dropped out.

2. *per (familias)*, 'among' = *inter*; cf. 21, 55, 1: *curandos*, cf. 21, 31, 1; cf. the different treatment of Canusines, 52, 7.

accipiendos curandosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos videnos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat; et iam ad decem milia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat moeni-

in singulos, note change to dat. *pediti*; cf. 28, 1; 35, 40, 6; L. 45, 34: *togas*, sc. *singulas* (36, 3; so 58, 4), cf. 44, 16, 4; probably these were only worn by the officers (who still wear them at Rome), e.g. centurions, as well as knights, when in garrison or winter-quarters, not when fighting, as it was the garb of peace (38, 9), op. *sagum*; cf. 29, 3, m.; ib. 36, in.; 44, 16, in.; the *tunica* was worn by the rank and file.

quadrigatos, cf. 52, 2: *quinos v.* = about 17s. 8½d. We should have expected more for the cavalry, who received three times as much pay as the infantry, the former getting one denarius (8½d.) *per diem*, the latter ⅓ of a denarius (2½d.); yet on the other hand the infantry do not receive clothing, as the others do, while *arma* no doubt applies to both: here the footsoldier receives about 7s. 1d. = a month's pay: *quinos et v.* is more common; but *vice-ni quini*; so *quinque et viginti*,

but *viginti quinque*; Madv. 70, 74, obs. 1.

3. *muliere*, cf. 52, 7.

4. *gravius*, sc. than that which the Canusines had to bear; or it may be 'too heavy': *faciebat* implies a daily accession to their numbers.

ad decem m., cf. 56, 2; of these 4800, together with another large contingent, are enumerated, 50, 11, and 52, 4: *Appiusque &c.*, cf. 53, 3; for *-que* (which might be omitted) cf. 44, 5.

5. *nuntium...m. q.*, 'send a messenger to tell him, what (i.e. the strength of the) forces' &c.; cf. 21, 24, 3.

utrum, late MSS.: P *utrumque*.

6. *species*, C: P *specie*: *consularis e.*, i.e. about two legions, called (24, 18, m.) *Cannensis exercitus*, afterwards sent to garrison the Sicilian towns; cf. 23, 25, 7; 24, 18, 9; but Pol. 3, 117 states that only 3000 men had escaped.

moenibusque, cf. 60, 23: *certe*

busque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

- 7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus *consulibus* exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum
8 fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque aggrediar narrare, quae edisserendo
9 minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasum-

(=saltem—, etsi, γε), C: P se cernei, eis inon: ed. 1531 certe, si (so vulg.): but cf. 2, 43, m.; etsi seras 3, 56, 7; see 29, 11; 21, 41, 8; Cio. Att. 3, 15: render 'it seemed likely that they would be in a position to defend themselves against the enemy behind walls, though not in the field' (*acie*).

defensuri, cf. 21, 22, 1; Dio says that Varro sent garrisons to places in the neighbourhood of Canusium.

7. From this section to ch. 57 Livy follows Roman authorities.

occidione oc. ('utterly destroyed'), abl. of means, often in Liv. = *funditus*, ad *internecionem*; so L. 2, 58 *odisse odio*; L. 25, 18 *donis donatus*; Rob. 1099; cf. Hom. Od. 11, 412 θάρον... θανάτω; like the Hebraism 'he shall destroy them with a mighty destruction', Deut. 7, 23; cf. Gen. 31, 30, where the Heb. הָרַג and הָרַג each occur twice; so Luc. 22, 15 ἐπιθυμία ἐπιθυμείν: Acts 4, 17 ἀπειλή (A.V. 'straitly') ἀπειλείν: ib. 5, 28.

consulibus exercitum, emend. Gron.: P, C, M, Cant. and most other MSS. omit first word and read *exercitibus*: Weiss. conj. o. *consulem utrumque c. d. exercitibus*.

8. *Nunquam*; is not this an exaggeration, when we compare the terror prevailing after battle of Allia? 5, 39, 4. But perh. *salva* will free Liv. from this charge; cf. 50, 3. Cf. the panic after battle of Trasimenus, 7, 6 sqq., § 9. The defeat of Arausio B.C. 105 'was a calamity which materially and morally far surpassed the day of Cannae', Momms. 3, 184; cf. his remarks (4, 80) on the victories of Spartacus B.C. 72, which he compares to the early stages of the Hannibalic war.

succumbam o., 'I shall decline ('shrink from') the task' (lit. 'I shall yield to the burden', i.e. be unable to support it), cf. L. 6, 31. Voss prefixes *ne* to *succumbam*, so that *neque* = *etiam non*, or *ne...quidem*, Gr. οὐδέ, cf. 53, 10; 21, 22, 1; 37, 20, 8, first found in classical prose of Livy; see Kühn. 373.

edisserendo (P and two of best MSS.: others have *disserendo*), 'by a lengthened description', a Plautine verb ἀπαξ λέγ. in Liv., who elsewhere uses *edissero* L. 34, 52, or *dissero* L. 41, 6; but cf. 6, 3.

minora v., op. 21, 32, 7; Wfl. quotes Sall. C. 3, 2 on the historian's difficulty *quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt*.

mennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibal Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares *scilicet* cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Han-

faciam, Voss.: P *facie*: vulg. *fecero* (prob. conj. of Gron.): older edd. *facio*: some take *faciam* as fut. indic., but it seems better to regard it as pres. subj. = French conditional.

9. *Consule*, the connection is — 'After the loss of... it was not wound upon wound (alluding to defeat at Trasimenus) that was announced, but multiplied disasters, viz. the loss of two..., while it was reported (sc. *nuntiatur* from preceding, cf. 21, 40, 7 with reading of P) that there was no longer a Roman camp..., and that H. was master of A. &c. App. H. 25 states that during the two years of the war the Romans had lost 100,000 men, including allies.

super v., cf. 6, 5; when it refers to a repeated occurrence, as here, *super* and case usually follow; cf. 19, 8: *non...sed*, cf. 21, 41, 16: *multiplex*, 'very much greater', cf. 2, 64, in.; 36, 1: *nuntiabantur*, for personal use cf. 21, 51, 5, impers. 36, 7; 21, 55, 1: *Hannibalis*, for gen. cf. 20, 1; ib. § 11; 21, 11, 12.

10. *ac...I.*, connects part with whole, as 14, 10; but cf. 21, 13, 7. *Nulla...non*, 'any': *tanta*

m. c. 'by so heavy a disaster'; cf. Virg. A. 1, 33: adj. *molestus* has nothing to do with *mōles*, but is conn. with *μῶλις*, *μογερός*.

11. *Compares*, two of best MSS.: P *comparasset* (due to preceding): vulg. *comparem*, with interrogations after *sunt* and *sucubuit*: render 'one might compare' (i.e. with defeat at Cannae), potential subj.; *scilicet*, Madv.: aut, conj. Alsch.

cladem, join with *Carth.*: for Synchronism cf. 42, 2; 21, 32, 6. *Aegates*, cf. 21, 10, 7; also 56, 7; 21, 41, 6; ib. 49, 5.

Sardinia, this island was not ceded on peace of Catulus; cf. 21, 1, 5, with ib. 40, 5; cf. ib. 44, 7: when it was taken from Carth. its late possessors had to pay 1200 talents, besides 3200 for Sicily, as indemnity, altogether about £1,500,000.

vectigales, &c., 'submitted to the payment of tribute and war-indemnity'; cf. 21, 41, 7: *inde* v. Alsch., which is nearest P *cessere*. *inuecti gallis*: et v. Madv.: vulg. *hinc* v.

pugnam...in A., for absence of participle cf. 21, 33, 3; ib. 11, 13: the battle = Zama (mod. Zamoia), fought B.C. 202, 'by

nibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

LV. *The praetors convene the Senate. Fabius advises precautionary measures and a repression of public lamentation.*

- 1 P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de
- 2 urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam,
- 3 quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis sicuti ingentibus, ita ignotis, ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor la-

which H. was crushed' by Scipio; cf. L. 30, 29.

nulla e. p., 'in no respect', cf. 46, 4; 47, 3; 21, 56, 8: op. *quam ex parte* 28, 12, f.

1. *Philus... Pomponius*, cf. 35, 5; also 7, 14: Weiss. calls attention to the fact that the Praetor peregrinus, as well as P. urbanus, convokes the Senate, usually done by latter alone, as representing the absent consuls; so in 23, 24, 1.

curiam H., cf. 7, 7; 1, 30, 2: the Senate House attributed to Tullus Hostilius (B.C. 673—641) was subsequently called *curia vetus*: Kiep. places it to the right of the Basilica Porcia, Dyer to the left of it, while Momms. thinks it stood on the Capitoline hill above the temple of Concord. Tarquin Sup. threw Serv. Tullius down the steps of the curia H. leading to the comitium; Dionys. 4, 38 κατὰ τῶν κρηπιδῶν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον φερουσῶν: here Saturninus sought refuge (Merivale R. R. 67); it was burnt B.C. 52,

when the people tried to burn the body of Clodius; cf. Cic. Mil. 33, m. During Caesar's dictatorship it was demolished and rebuilt under the name of *Curia Julia*.

2. *n. dubitabant*, Liv. (as Nep. often) usually has acc. and infin. after this instead of *quin* in Caes. and Cic. (but cf. Cic. Att. 7, 1); yet cf. 39, 15; 21, 3, 1; ib. 36, 4; so with *dubius sum*, *dubium* or *in dubio est*, cf. 6, 6: *restaret*, subj. as=reflection of praetors.

3. *in malis*, late MSS.: *in aliis P.*

sicuti, &c., 'as mysterious as they were great'; for a different meaning cf. 21, 39, 7; see 23, 2—3; Madv. 444, a, 3.

ne (P nec) consilium, &c., 'they could not even form ('arrive at') a definite plan' (much less do anything, § 1): *expedio*=lit. to get the feet out of a snare, op. *impedio*, ἐμποδίζω: see also 3, 2. *obstreperetque*, 'deafened' those who were consulting.

mentantium mulierum et, nondum palamfacto, vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, equites 4 expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percontando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid di immortales, miseriti 5 imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contu-

nondum p., 'as the facts were not yet published', viz. who were dead or survived; cf. 1, 41, 6; Nep. (Probus?) Dion. 10, 2: for part. abl. abs. cf. 21, 21, 1; so Liv. uses *impetrato, pacto, cognito* &c.: the absolute use of part. perf. pass. in abl. is frequent in Tac.; cf. Maclean p. xxx.: so Pol. 2, 5 προσαγγελθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς, Σκερδιλατῶν παραγινεσθαι: Thuc. 1, 74; Madv. G. S. 181, d.

per, late MSS.: *et per*, C² (so vulg.; *et=kai ταῦτα*: preferred by Heerw.; cf. 1, 19): *et pene C*: *et paene P*: *promiscue* ('indiscriminately') C: *praemiscue P*: *complorarentur*, cf. 53, 4.

4. *tum*, correlative to *quum*, introducing conclusion, as *ubi* in § 8; cf. 56, 1.

expeditos, cf. § 6: 21, 46, 3: *Appia*, cf. 1, 12: *Latina*, cf. 12, 2; if the adj. be a quadrisyllable it regularly follows *via*; as in 11, 5 and 36, 8; cf. Wolf.: *obvios*, cf. 7, 7 and 11.

profecto...fore, corr. Gron. from C²: *profectos...forte P, C*; vulg. *percunctando al. profectos e. f., p. d., forte r.*, which is inadmissible on the score of Latinity: Bauer conj. *profectos*, though he thinks *profectos* may be a gloss: cf. 6, 29, 4 *ex f. dis-*

sipati; note Latin mode of rendering Eng. 'in flight'; but cf. 7, 9: Fabr. remarks that *profecto* in assertions frequently = Germ. *müssen* (i.e. Eng. 'must'); cf. 26, 15, f. *quum...negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse* = 'when he said that he must certainly be out of his mind'; 1, 54, 1.

referant, we should have expected imperf. subj. after verb in past; but cf. 25, 14.

5. *Romani n.* (21, 43, 12), one of best MSS.: *P romanū nomini*; hence most late MSS. *Romano nomini* (so vulg.); but sense is not so good, as the reference is to the Roman army which had fought at Cannae: cf. 38, 1; 21, 30, 3.

fecerint, Drak. not so well places colon after this, so that *si* = 'whether', instead of 'if'.

quo, late MSS.: *P quae*: C, M *qua*.

proelium; the derivations given for this are (1) *pro, ire* = the advance, (2) *πρὸ τῆς ἔλξης*, the orthography *proilium* being cited in support, though we also find *praelium* and *prelium*; it usually denotes an inconsiderable fight, but is used of Cannae by Seneca (Rhetor) and Gellius, as well as Livy.

- 6 *lerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique*
 7 *intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curret, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectent,*
 8 *custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit recte tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.*

paret, agat, for this frequent combination cf. 23, 39, 1; see 21, 7, 1.

6. *illud*, introduces *ut...tollant* &c. (cf. 36, 5 and *ἐκείνος* = *οὗτος*); but as *haec* refers to the despatch of messengers &c., *illud* may point to 'the defence of the city' previously mentioned § 1, cf. § 8.

parum, i.e. in the city, the consuls being absent, cf. § 1.

tumultum a. t., cf. 21, 33, 8; L. 25, 4, *turba ac tumultus: publico*, 'from appearing in public' (or 'publicity'); cf. 21, 14, 1; op. 2. 24, f. *proripientium se ex privato*.

7. *intra s....l.*; Plut. Fab. 18 says that Fab. gave orders that any who pleased might lament for 30 days in their own houses.

familiarum = servorum: suae, &c., 'that they should severally wait at home for the bearer of tidings affecting themselves', i.e. reporting a relative's death or otherwise: Wölf., objecting to change of subject, adds *ut* after *curret*, *auctorem*, cf. 1, 16, 5.

expectent, after P *expectent: C expectet*; but for *quisque* in apposition to subj. in plur. (avoided by Cic.) cf. 21, 45, 9; cf. Smith L. G. 222, 2; Madv. 271, 1.

8. *urbem* P: Madv. *urbe* (objectionable from repetition); but Liv. often has acc. after this verb, cf. 1, 29, 6; 3, 57, f.; 29, 6, 4; cf. 2, 37, f. *ut urbem excederent*; Cic. Caes. and Sall. limit the acc. after *egredior* to nouns signifying a boundary, or frontier; for list of neut. verbs become transitive, cf. Rob. 1121.

nullum n...salutem s., cf. 5, 6; op. advice given 53, 5.

(*conticuerit recte*, P and most MSS.: Vulg. *tumultus, recte tum*: Frigell conj. *certe*: Wölf. regards it as a dittography: Ussing strikes it out: if correct it = *ὡς εὐκαιρ*, cf. Cic. Nat. D. 2, 56, 141; render, 'as soon as the disturbance should have duly subsided'.

revocandos, 'should be summoned again', in reference to § 1, cf. 56, 6; see also 21, 28, 9, where *repetiti* = 'fetched, themselves also', as well as the others

LVI. *Motion carried. Varro's despatch. Festival of Ceres omitted. Ill tidings from Sicily.*

remov Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, 1
summotaque foro *per* magistratus turba, patres di-
 versi ad *sedandos* tumultus discessissent, tum demum
 litterae a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Aemi- 2
 lium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii
 esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colli-
 gentem; ad decem milia militum ferme esse incom-
 positorum inordinatorumque; Poenum sedere ad 3
 Cannas, in captivorum pretiis praedaeque alia nec

(re- connoting repetition of act, though the objects differ).

1. *Quum*, &c. 'This motion having been unanimously carried without discussion'—the *pedarii senatores* simply stepped to the side of the senator with whom they agreed, in response to the demand of the presiding magistrate (quoted by Plin. Ep. 8, 14, 19) *qui haec sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite, qua sentitis*, the magistrate being said *dirimere sententias* and *discessionem facere*: cf. expression 'to call for a division'; cf. 49, 17; 23, 10, 4; 1, 32, 12; Cic. Verr. 4, 65; Tac. A. 14, 45: Bassus ap. Gell. 3, 18 thinks the *pedarii* were so called as they did not ride to the Senate, like the Curule magistrates, but walked; others explain it of the silent vote = *pedibus*, as they could not vote, inasmuch as they had not been regularly appointed by the Censors. Cf. different Greek modes of voting by show of hands = *χειροτονέω*, or pebbles = *ψηφίζω*.

summotaque, *summovere* was the technical term for the dispersion of the crowd by the lictors; cf.

60, 2 and 17; hence the lictor is called *summotor* L. 45, 29; but cf. 21, 7, 8.

per m., after Ascensius: one of later MSS. has *magistratibus*, accepted by Gron., which may = *dat. comm.*: Drak. reads *f. t. magistratus et p.*

diversi, 'in different directions', note adj. for adv.; cf. 46, 9; 21, 8, 12.

2. *ad decem m.*: Gron. conj. *ad xiv m.*: perh. Liv. wrote *ad quindecim m.*, which would agree with 54, 1 and 4; Matthiae objects to Gron.'s conj. on ground that in 54, 4 *hominum*, not *militum*, is used, and in 60, 20 the words *xx milia* are opposed to it, since Varro had 10000, and 12200 in the two camps had surrendered.

incompositorum, &c., 'irregular and unorganized', i.e. the fugitives had not yet been formed into centuries, cohorts and legions; cf. 5, 7; to be distinguished from 50, 8; for military *ordines* cf. 5, 3.

3. *Poenum*, conj. Gron. for *menum* of P: *sedere*, often like *cunctari* applied to Fabius; cf. 3, 10; 21, 48, 10; but *confestim* in 23, 1, 1, contradicts statement here.

- victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem.
- 4 Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempe-
- 5 state matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta

nundinantem, 'bargaining' ('haggling', 'chaffering') about the ransoms'; this is the felicitous emend. of Gron. for *nuntiantem* of P and nearly all MSS.; cf. Ennius' *cauponantes bellum* (ap. Cic. Off. 1, 12, 38), and Gr. *καπηλεύω μάχην*, with Tasso G. L. 20, 142 *Guerreggio in Asia*, *e non vi cambio o merco*.

4. *per domos*, 'from house to house': *opplevit*, cf. 49, 6.

Cereris. The chief festival of Ceres took place April 12—19 (Ov. F. 4, 393; Tac. An. 15, 53—Orelli); but as it was to have been celebrated after the battle of Cannae, i.e. Aug. 2 (*ante diem quartum Nonas Sextiles*, Gell. 5, 17, 5=prob. June of corrected calendar—cf. 5, 8; 43, 5; 46, 9), Weiss. thinks allusion is made to that mentioned by Cic. p. Balb. 55. For a like interruption of the Cerealia and same limitation to mourning cf. 34, 6, 15. Only white garments were permissible at the festival, which was confined to married women (hence *matronae*), representing search of Ceres for Proserpine. The chief sacrifices to Ceres were the *porca praecidaneae* and *praemetium* of corn, explained by Philoxenus as ἡ πρὸ θερισμοῦ Δημήτρας θυσία: for deriv. *creare*, and the *ambarvalia*, cf. Keight. Myth. 457.

interm. sit, perf. for imperf. subj. (found occasionally in Caes., often in Liv.), cf. 5, 8; 45, 9; 61, 14.

tempestate=*tempore* 35, 7; cf. 1, 5, 2; so in Sall. frequently; *fuerat*, cf. 21, 39, 9.

5. *diebus triginta* (abl.): on the other hand Paul the Deacon, p. 97, after alluding to the Greek origin of the Cerealia (cf. the Eleusinia), states that, owing to the want of married women exempt from mourning on this occasion, the period of mourning was limited to 100 days. Roman women by Numa's order mourned a year of ten months for a husband (Ov. F. 3, 136), or father (Liv. 2, 7, m.); cf. Sen. Ep. 63, f. *annum feminis ad lugendum constituere maiores, non ut tam diu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum*; cf. ib. Consol. ad Helv. 16 with Lipsius' note. At Athens mourning seems to have lasted a month, cf. Lys. Caed. Eras. p. 15 *ἐδοξε δέ μοι ἐψιμυθιῶσθαι, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνεώτος οὕτω τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας*, while at Sparta Lycurgus restricted it to eleven days, τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πένθος (Plut. Lyc. 27): cf. *τριάκας, τὰ ἑνὰ* and *novendialia*.

luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis 6
tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae
insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio
propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari;
cui quum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum 7
sibi esse, aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare
paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuen- 8
dam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum
extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam aggredirentur;
itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium
Siciliamque tueri vellent.

LVII. *Senate resolve to place Marcellus in command at Canusium. Vestal buried alive. Human sacrifices. Junius Pera Dictator with Semp. Gracchus Master of Horse. Eight thousand slaves armed.*

Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis, censuerunt 1

6. *revocati*, cf. 55, 8: *insuper*, his *esse*; Liv. may have written 'besides' that mentioned § 1, *socii*, cf. § 8.
often introducing a circumstance, which increases prevailing alarm or confusion, cf. 3, 12; 21, 14, 2; ib. 55, 6; also 61, 3; 21, 1, 5.
litterae, 'a despatch', often = an official report (24, 14; 33, 9; 57, 1) op. *epistola* = a private letter, though Wölf. cites Salust's *Epistola Pompei et Mithridatis*.
Otacilio, cf. 31, 6; Hieronis, cf. 37, 1.
7. *ferre*, sc. *opem*; Liv. usually omits a word which is to be thus repeated, cf. 21, 52, 11.
vellet...sibi esse, ed. 1518: P, with several MSS. including two of best, *uellent...his est*: Heerw. conj. *sui* (or *naves suae*) *vellent*, n. *his* (or *iis*) *esse* &c.; Weiss. suggests as subj. *a se missi*, also retaining MS. reading *uellent...*
versum ad, pre-Aldine edd.: P *aduersum*.
p. *aliam*, 'and the rest of the Roman province', i.e. the western portion of Sicily (21, 1, 5): for *alius* = *ceterus* (21, 20, 6) cf. 21, 11, 9; ib. 12, 6; perhaps this was a colloquialism.
classe; Otacilius means a second fleet, or a reinforcement for the one he had; cf. 31, 6; 37, 13.
1. *Litteris*, &c.: most MSS. read *L. c. p. Ap. Claudium*:

Aegates, cf. 21, 10, 7: ib. 41, 6; ib. 49, 5: *stare*, &c., 'was riding at anchor (57, 1) ready equipped', cf. 19, 2.

8. *se*, i.e. Otacilius; note connection with logical, rather than grammatical, subject, like *sibi* § 7.

versum ad, pre-Aldine edd.: P *aduersum*.

p. *aliam*, 'and the rest of the Roman province', i.e. the western portion of Sicily (21, 1, 5): for *alius* = *ceterus* (21, 20, 6) cf. 21, 11, 9; ib. 12, 6; perhaps this was a colloquialism.

classe; Otacilius means a second fleet, or a reinforcement for the one he had; cf. 31, 6; 37, 13.

1. *Litteris*, &c.: most MSS. read *L. c. p. Ap. Claudium*:

- praetorem* M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret.
- 2 Territi etiam super tantas clades quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra,

several MSS. *Praetoris quem Ap. Claudium*; hence Rup. conj. *Praetorem itaque visum Ap.* (or *M.* which P alone has). *C. &c.* regarding *L. c. p. l.* as gloss.

praetorisque, rather *proprietorisque* (which Vulg. reads without MS. authority), as Otacilius was now propraetor, cf. 37, 13; 56, 6; also 31, 6; 35, 5; so 23, 40, 1 *Manlium praetorem = propraetorem*.

lectis c., not in P, but in two of latest MSS., one of which places *censuerunt* after *mittendum*; another MS. has *censent*: Wölf. conj. *recitatis, c.*

praetorem M., corr. Gron.: P *Marcium* (the other MSS. *Ap.*) *Claudium*. Marcellus had been appointed praetor for Sicily (35, 6), but had not yet gone to his province, which was meantime governed by Otacilius (56, 6): Plin. 7, 25, § 92 states that he fought thirty-nine battles: for his celebrated single combat cf. Liv. Epit. 20, m.: for his repulse of Hannibal at Nola B.C. 215, cf. 23, 46, 1.

classi a. O., Weiss. supposes that the fleet mentioned 31, 6 was still stationed at the port of Rome.

praeesset, subj. because reporting words of senate: *consuli*, i.e. Varro, who was recalled in order to name a dictator, § 9;

cf. 23, 22, 10; see 8, 5.

primo q. t., 'at the very first opportunity'; cf. 21, 51, 5: *quantum*, cf. 12, 8; *per c.* = abl. *commodo*, 'in accordance with the interests' &c., cf. 33, 7.

2. *Territi* (sc. *sunt Patres* from *censuerunt*)... *s...p.*, cf. 21, 46, 1; for *quum...tum* = 'as well as', cf. 21, 52, 7: *ceteris*, proleptic, cf. 21, 62, 6. As regards the Vestals, the alarm at Rome was of course owing to their guilt, not their punishment.

Vestales (Ἐστιάδες). Previous to Tarquin Pr. or Serv. Tullius there were four, since that time six, who were selected between the ages of 6 and 10, being *patrimae et matrimae*, to keep alive the sacred fire which symbolized the goddess Vesta (10, 9), whose temple stood near the Comitium in the Forum. They were bound to devote themselves for thirty years to this service, after which they might return to the world. If guilty of *incestum* (2, 42, f.) as here, the Vestal was buried in the Campus Sceleratus, adjoining the Colline Gate; cf. 8, 15, 6; while, if she allowed the fire to go out, she was scourged; cf. 28, 11, 6; see 1, 3, 11; 1, 20, 3; Smith, D. A.

s. compertae, 'were convicted of incontinence'; cf. 7, 4, m.

uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium verum esset, decemviri libros

sub terra (Duk. *terram*, cf. § 6)...*necata fuerat*=*viva defossa erat*: *p. Collinam*; the Colline or Hill Gate was so called from its proximity to the Quirinal Hill, and stood at the N.E. end of the city, adjoining the Campus Sceleratus. Hannibal rode through this gate as far as the temple of Hercules, L. 26, 10; and here Sulla won his famous victory B.C. 82.

sibimet, &c. 'had killed herself'—note phrase for 'she had committed suicide'.

3. *scriba p. q.* = 'one of the pontifical secretaries whom' &c., a constr. per Synesin (42, 12), the relative indicating the class; Fabr. cites 27, 11, 3 *infantem, quos androgynos...appellat*; cf. Eur. Hel. 440. Rup. thinks that either *quos n. m. p. a.* is a gloss, or *quos* must refer to *pontificis*: Weiss. reads *pontificius* after Cassius Hemina (ap. Priscian 7, 11) *scriba pontificius, qui cum eabus stuprum fecerat*: *P pontificis*.

nunc, late MSS.; *P non*.

minores p., according to Cic. Har. Resp. 6, f. these were three in number, constituting a college; cf. I. Capitolinus Vit. Opil. Macr. 7 *quum scriba pontificum esset, quos hodie pontifices minores vocant*. Macrob. S. 1, 15 informs us that the duty of the inferior pontiff was to observe

the moon, report about it to the Rex Sacrificulus, and, having sacrificed along with him to Juno in the Curia Calabra, to proclaim the days remaining between the Calends and the Nones: the pontiffs became notorious for their luxury; cf. Hor. O. 2, 14, 28.

a pontifice, i.e. by his order; cf. 28, 11, 6; Suet. Dom. 8; for his name cf. 10, 1: the Pontifex M. inflicted the punishment either because the *scribae* were under his jurisdiction, or because he held the *patria potestas* (cf. Smith s. v.) over the Vestals, which had lapsed with reference to their own fathers.

comitio, cf. 7, 7; Tac. Agr. 2 (Frost's note): for a like public scourging cf. Plin. Ep. 4, 11, 10; it was specially inflicted upon slaves (Dion. 9, 40 *καθὰρεν ἀνδράποδον*); cf. *quaestionem habere* Cic. Phil. 11, 2, 5.

exspiraret, Festus 241 (ed. Müll.) quotes the law which enacted that a Vestal thus offending *capite puniretur*, and the guilty man *verberibus necaretur*—the law was set up in the temple of Liberty, but was destroyed by fire.

4. *nefas*=*stuprum* § 3: *t.*, *ut fit*, c., for this frequent position, cf. 6, 21, m. *privato, ut fit, periculo. decemviri*, &c. cf. 32, 6.

5 adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro

5. *Pictor*, cf. 7, 4; 1, 56, 5; on the surname cf. Plin. 35, 4; so Plut. Fab. 18 *ἐς Δελφούς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πικτωρ συγγενῆς Φαβίου* (i.e. the Dictator); App. H. 27 *ἡ βουλὴ Κόωντον Φάβιον τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων ἐς Δελφούς ἐπεμπε*.

Delphos a. o., 'to the oracle at Delphi' (cf. 5, 15, in.), note Latin idiom (cf. 11, 6); the reply which Fabius received is given 23, 11, 1. Liv. 38, 48 calls Delphi *umbilicus orbis terrarum*, as in Gk. *ὀμφαλός*. For Apollo's famous temple and oracle, consulted by Croesus, Socrates, Philip and others, cf. Grote H. G. 2, 36; Smith D. A. s. v. *Oraculum*. The worship of Apollo had entered Rome from Cumae, and was fostered by the Sibylline books; cf. Momms. 1, 149, 187. Delphi was visited by Paullus, who sacrificed to Apollo; L. 45, 27. Cf. L. 5, 15 and 16; L. 29, 10 and 11.

supplicis = supplicationibus (21, 17, 4) or *sacrificiis* (§ 6), an archaic use (like *tempestas* 56, 4); so L. 27, 50, m.; Sall. C. 9; ib. I. 46, 2; 55, 2: for *foret = esset*, cf. 32, 6; for combination with fut. part. cf. 25, 24, m.; 38, 38, in.; also infin. *facturos fore* 6, 42, f.: note gender of *finis* (as in 4, 2, sub in.) rare in classical prose.

6. *fatalibus l.*, cf. 9, 9; possibly Fabius' mission emanated also from the Sibylline books, on

which Liv. throws the responsibility of human sacrifices (*minime Romano*). At Athens there was an annual sacrifice of two persons during the Thargelia, and also at Leucas, while Themistocles immolated three Persians before the battle of Salamis. At Rome we may compare the self-sacrifices of Curtius and the Decii, while I. Caesar sacrificed two soldiers to Mars in the Campus Martius: cf. the wholesale sacrifice offered by the Etruscans 7, 15, 10. Porphyrius says that such sacrifices were offered till Hadrian's time (A.D. 117—138); cf. Justin M. (A.D. 150) *τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν (Ρωμαίοις) ... εἰδῶλφ... αἵματα προσρῖνεται... ἀνθρώπεια*: so Tatian *εὐρὼν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν Δατιάριον Δία λύθροις ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδροκτασιῶν αἵμασι τερπόμενον*. Plin. 30, 1 states that Tiberius forbade the Gauls to offer human victims. Grotius Ver. Rel. C. 2, 11 refers to those sacrifices, contrasting their cruelty with the Gospel precepts.

inter quae, 'amongst others' (lit. 'amongst which' unusual sacrifices); cf. 7, 25, f.; for loose construction cf. 7, 5.

Gallus et Galla, corr. Ascensius: *P callus egalia*: the reason of the act was that the oracle said that the Gauls and Greeks would possess the city, and the Romans thought they might thus avert the evil.

boario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius 7 Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica (ea legio 8 tertia erat) cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum

foro b., Heerw. writes *bovario*, on the ground that the best MSS. here and at 10, 23, in. spell it so; cf. 21, 62, 3. Plin. 28, 2, 12 states that even in his time (circ. A.D. 70) a Greek man and woman had been buried alive in the same place, the prayer on the occasion being, as usual, said by the head of the college of xv viri (formerly x viri—cf. 21, 62, 6).

terram, corr. Duker: P *terra* (so vulg.), cf. § 2; for *in* with acc. after *demitto*, cf. Plin. Ep. 4, 11, 9.

locum s. c., 'a stone-vaulted chamber', C. and B.; for collective *saxo*, cf. 37, 8.

consaeptum, after ed. 1531: P *consectum*; cf. L. 10, 37.

iam ante, emend. Gron.: P *uiamante*: the allusion is to 10 years previously, B.C. 226, when during the Gallic war a pair of Gauls and a pair of Greeks, male and female, were thus immured alive; cf. Plut. Marcell. p. 229; Zon. 8, 19; Oros. 4, 13; Momms. 2, 78.

m. Romano, rather Greek, as the Sibylline books, which dictated it, were of Greek origin.

7. *Ostia*, cf. 11, 6: *quos*, late MSS.: P *quod*; hence Alsch. conj. *quot*; cf. 50, 12.

scriptos (i. q. *conscriptos*, 21, 26, 2), not 'had enrolled', but 'had with him, enrolled (or 'levied')

for' &c.; cf. 4, 5.

praesidio, for the city garrison see 11, 3 and 9; cf. 23, 14, 2.

8. *legione*, corr. Alsch.: P *legionem classica ea*, &c.: vulg. *legione classicis*: *classica* = 'naval'; cf. 11, 9; 19, 4; 24, 11, 3; also our 'Marines': cf. 31, 1, where we read of the fleet of 120 vessels going to Africa: perhaps, as Luterb. supposes, Marcellus equipped this afresh, and as a ship of war contained 120 soldiers, 30 vessels would possibly furnish a legion.

tertia, cf. 27, 10; 53, 2; but as this legion formed part of the land forces and no doubt fought at Cannae, *tertia* here may refer to a fresh enumeration of the legions generally, or perhaps = the third naval legion. Fabr. regards *tertia* as an error; but possibly it is due to Livy's different authorities, who also varied in the enumeration of forces at Cannae.

cum. t., cf. 21, 47, 6: App. H. 27 states that Marcellus himself led these troops, amounting to 12000 men, to Teanum.

Teanum S. (to be distinguished from T. Apulum); cf. 42, 11. As it was an important town, commanding the Latin Way from Capua to Rome, it was natural

- praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, dilectū edicto, iuniores ab annis septendecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt.

that Marcellus should occupy it: Wölff. and others place it on the neighbouring Appian Way: but cf. Kiepert's Italy.

classe, this fleet sailed to Sicily; cf. 23, 21, 2.

Philo, cf. 35, 5. It was not unusual for the city praetor to take the command of troops outside the city (cf. 21, 26, 2), though he was not allowed to be absent for more than ten days, owing to his judicial functions. For another member of the same *gens*, cf. 49, 15.

magnis it., 'by forced marches',

9. *Inde d.*, corr. Crévier: P *indictator: ex auctoritate p.*, cf. 14, 11.

dictus M. Iunius, corr. Aldus: P (2nd h.) *dictus Iunius: P dictum iunius*.

The Consul Varro nominated the dictator, and probably the Master of Horse (but cf. 8, 6); yet his presence at Rome might be dispensed with; cf. 33, 11. This Iunius was surnamed Pera, i.e. Wallet; cf. 59, 1. He was consul B.C. 230, as his father had been in B.C. 266, and Censor B.C. 225: he recruited his forces with criminals and debtors, 23, 14, 1—3; and was the last dictator *rei ger. c.*, his successors being elected simply *comitiorum hab. c.*; cf. 8, 5.

Ti. corr. Sigonius: P reads *t.*:

Tiberius Semp.'s family name was Gracchus; he obtained the consulship B.C. 215; and at the head of slave volunteers (*volones*) that year he defeated the Campanians (23, 35, 6), as well as Hanno subsequently: he fell fighting against Mago B.C. 212; cf. L. 25, 17. For others of this *gens*, cf. 50, 6.

iuniores, i.e. those between 17 (when the *tirocinium* or *rudimentum* began—21, 3, 4) and 46; cf. 11, 8; also *tiro*, and Dem. Ol. 3, 4.

quosdam, cf. 5, 3; 21, 4.

praetextatos, i.e. boys under 17, who still wore the purple-bordered gown, *toga praetexta* (Gr. περιόρφυπος), and were called *investes*, whereas on the assumption of the *toga virilis* (τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἱμάτιον) they were named *vesticipes*; cf. Tac. A. 12, 41; Beck. Gall. 196.

quattuor ex his, but cf. 23, 14, 2; the number would be about 20,000 men.

10. *socios*, i.e. those not in Latium, though Rup. regards *-que* as exegetical=*hoc est*; cp. 48, 2; 21, 48, 4; 2, 42, m. *temeritatisque*. *Latinumque n.*, 'the Latin nation' (or 'confederacy'); cf. 38, 1; 50, 6.

ex formula=ἐκ καταλόγου, 'according to the list' of those who were capable of bearing arms in

Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam 11 formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo milia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis 12 placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

the several cities (cf. 27, 10, 2), or 'according to the terms of the treaty' (or 'their alliance'); see 4, 8, m.; for the allied contingent, cf. 36, 3.

mittunt, the allies usually led their contingents themselves to the rendezvous; cf. 24, 12.

Arma, 'armour' = helmets, shields, greaves and corslets, *tela* = spears and swords; cf. 1, 48, 2, which shows that the Roman soldiers had to supply their own weapons, an exception being here made in the case of slaves; cf. 3, 15, f.; Tac. A. 1, 17; the state provided corn and clothing, but Pol. 6, 37 (39, f.) says that the quaestor deducted a certain sum from the soldier's pay for these, *κἀν τινος δπλου προσδεηθῶσι*.

vetera, P reads *vespa*.

spolia (σπῦλα), i.e. the arms of offensive and defensive, which had been taken from the enemy and hung up in the temples in honour of the gods; Sil. 10, 599—601; L. 4, 20, m.; 23, 14, 4; 24, 21, f. These could only be removed in periods of extreme necessity; Val. Max. 7; 6, 1.

11. *aliam*: P *alia*: Luchs strikes it out; render 'another kind of new levy', i.e. in addition to choice of *pretextatos* § 9: *forma* here = *species*, Gr. εἶδος, ἰδέα.

validorum, 'able-bodied', per-

haps 2000 being assigned to each of the four new legions, § 9.

servitiis = *servis*, abstract for concrete; cf. 24, 9, t. *paucitate* = *tam paucis*; 45, 4; 21, 54, 2 *praetorium*.

sciscitantes, for pres. part. cf. 21, 20, 2.

vellentne, hence, as these slaves offered themselves *voluntarie*, they were called *volones* (ἐθελονταί), cf. 23, 35, 7; 24, 16, m.; whereas the burgesses were bound to serve, and are said *dare*, *edere* or *profiteri nomen*, or *ad nomen respondere*; L. 2, 24; L. 7, 4.

militare, empta C: P *militaret-empta*: cf. 59, 12 (which explains following); 61, 2; C. and B. have missed the point. App. H. 27 states that these slaves now received their liberty; but Liv. places this privilege in B.C. 214; cf. 24, 14, 5.

12. *publice*, δημοσίᾳ, 'at the public expense'; cf. 60, 3: *placuit*, for the Romans thought that those who had never enjoyed freedom could defend it better than those who had lost it; cf. Sen. Rhet. Excerpt. Controv. 5, 7: *quum*, 'although': *minore*, cf. 58, 4; 59, 12; for explanation cf. next chap. *Namque*, &c.

redimendi, corr. Ascensius: P *redime*: for *redimo*, 'to ransom', cf. 59, 6, 7, 11 and 12: *copia*, 'opportunity'.

LVIII. *Hannibal dismisses the captured allies. The Romans send ten representatives with Carthalo to Rome to procure ransoms.*

- 1 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad
 Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis
 2 intentus curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque,
 socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum,
 benigne allocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque
 vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis
 3 miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse
 cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio
 certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse et se id
 anniti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti
 4 cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere;
 pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos

1. *secundum*, cf. 21, 59, 10; ib. 43, 6; Cic. Off. 1, 12, 38. for another sense cf. ib. 40, 11: Hann. implies that Carthage only wishes to 'recover what Rome had taken from her since B.C. 264.

ad C. p., cf. 7, 1; 54, 11; 21, 15, 6. *tam*, sc. as has been described; for omission of corresponding member, cf. 21, 39, 9.

victoris, cf. 56, 3; for explanation cf. 51, 4: *intentus*, 'bent on', 'occupied with'.
 2. *segregatisq.*, s.; edd. before Drak. have *sq. sociis, eos* (but pron. is wanting in most MSS.): Gron. conj. *segregatos socios*; cf. 52, 3 *seorsum*.

Trebiam, Liv. does not mention this before (21, ch. 55): *Trasumennumq.*, cf. 7, 5.

sine pretio, this contradicts 52, 3, unless Liv. means that H. excused them the stipulated ransom of 200 denarii apiece: *quod*, &c., more fully expressed in 8, 6.

3. *internecivum...b.*, 'a deadly feud', 'a war of extermination', like Gr. *πῶλε. ἀσπονδός, ἀκήρυκτος*; cf. 9, 25, f.; but this was not the Roman view; cf. 21, 53, 4; also

certare, sc. *se*, cf. § 4; 42, 6; also 34, 7. *Et...et*, the thought is—both the Carthaginians and the Romans must yield in turn: *patres* sc. *suos* = the Carthaginians, for his own father Hamilcar had been nearly always victorious; cf. 21, 41, 8—9.

id anniti, for this use of pron., cf. 38, 13; 21, 9, 4; ib. 31, 2; ib. 54, 8: *ut...cedatur* = 'that the Romans should yield'.

4. *se*, acc. after *redimendi*: in *capita*, sc. *singula*; cf. 23, 6: *equiti*, cf. 52, 2, where the cavalry are not obliged to pay more than the infantry. Pol. 6, 58 makes the ransom the same for all, i.e. three minae each = £12. 3. 9, unless we suppose the Drachma = the Denarius, when the amount will = £10. 12. 6; but cf. A. Gell.

nummos, treceños pediti, servo centenos. Quanquam 5 aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcunque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio 6 ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Cartha- 7 giniensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus 8 ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Ro- 9 mam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam

6, 18, 2 *darent argenti pondo libram et selibram*, which would only = £4. 9. 3; cf. 23, 6.

centenos, a late MS.: *P centum*.

5. *aliquantum*, i.e. 200 Denarii apiece = £7. 1. 8; cf. 21, 12, 2: the statement justifies the remark in 56, 3.

quo (P and most MSS.: vulg. *quod*) abl. of price (52, 2) instead of usual acc.; cf. 59, 6: *pepigerant* = *pacti erant* (rarer form), a meaning confined to perf. forms of *pango*, *paciscor* supplying pres. and fut.; cf. Madv. 132.

quamcunque = *quamlibet*, *quavis*, often found without a verb in Liv.; cf. 1, 39, 5.

6. *ad senatum*, i.e. to induce the state either to pay the ransom, as was usual (23, 7; 61, 2), or to authorise its payment by the prisoners' relatives; cf. 60, 3.

7. *Carthalo*, cf. 49, 13. Two other Carthaginians of this name figure in the First and Second Punic Wars.

inclinaret, for neuter sense, cf. 23, 33, 4: *animus*, one of later MSS.: P and most MSS., includ-

ing two of best, have *animos*, which, however, may be archaic nom.; render 'the minds of the Romans': vulg. has *inclinarent animos*, sc., *Romani*: cf. 8, 2, f.; 26, 1, m.; also double use of *ἐγκλινω*.

8. *Quum egressi*, &c. This instance of perjury is quoted by Cic. Off. 1, 13, 40, though some think it a compilation from ib. 3, 22, 86.

unus, &c., cf. 61, 4 and 5, where the different accounts are given: *minime*, cf. 57, 6; op. *vere* 14, 11: cf. the celebrated case of Regulus, which Cic. does not consider remarkable, owing to the sanctity of oaths at that time; Cic. Off. 3, 26 and 31.

veluti Alsch.: P *velutillut*..: C. *velut* (so vulg.): Gron. conj. *v. illic*.

iuris i., so *religio* = oath, Nep. Ag. 2; Gell. 6 (7) 18 *duo* (referring to present case) *solutos se esse religione dicebant: solvendi*, the ideas of binding and loosing in oath are frequent; cf. *iure i. obstringo, constringo*.

lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LIX. *Speech of M. Junius, spokesman of the deputation, urging the Senate to ransom the captives.*

- 1 Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum princeps: "M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti" inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam
- 2 civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non

9. *d. verbis*=*d. nomine*; cf. 3, 50, f.; Cic. Att. 16, 11, f.

1. The speech may be divided into six sections: 1—6 We are deserving of being ransomed; 7—9 our forefathers were wont to ransom captives; 10—11 those who fled from the battle merit no preference over us; 12 we surely deserve more consideration than slaves; 13—16 the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the grief of our relations, should move you; 17—19 better for us to die than be rejected.

senatus, cf. 21, 12, 8: *dictatore*, cf. 57, 9.

princeps C: P *principes*: App. H. 28 represents three prisoners, headed by Cn. Sempronius, coming before the senate.

M. Iuni: P *m. iuniusque*: Harant conj. *M. Iuni vosque* (so Müll.); vulg. *princeps Iunius*, *Patres*: cf. 34, 31, 1; it certainly seems strange that the head of the prisoners should bear the same name as the dictator.

p. conscripti; cf. 2, 1, 7, where Liv. supposes that the new plebeian senators, added by Brutus or Valerius, to fill up the vacancies caused by Tarquin S., were called 'enrolled' to distin-

guish them from the original patrician body=*patres*, though others ascribe the election of the *conscripti* to Servius T. But Ihne, Early Rome p. 123, denies that *p. conscripti*=*p. et c.*, maintaining that only a certain number of the patrician masters of families became senators, and that these latter were technically called 'fathers enrolled', i.e. on the lists of the Senate. Momms. 1, 266 takes the other view, regarding the *patres* (i.e. the patrician senate) as exercising the *auctoritas*, while the patricio-plebeians (i.e. *patres conscripti*) give *consilium*. Note emphatic position of vocative, instead of usual place following some word or words at beginning of speech; cf. 1, 28, 4.

viliores f., 'been held cheaper by': cf. 60, 7; but that the Romans did not neglect their prisoners is proved by §§ 7 and 18; 23, 6; Epit. 13, in. Regulus himself advised the Romans not to exchange prisoners; cf. Epit. 18, f.

2. *ceterum*, cf. 50, 2: *plus iusto*, cf. 54, 8: *causa*, 'case', 'justice of our cause', render 'unless we think more highly of

alii unquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie 3 per timorem arma tradidimus, sed quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore 4 ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, 5 quum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arcemur, nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc 6 demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se 7 a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos

ourselves than we ought to think'; cf. L. 37, 1 *ut quibus plus in misericordia renatus, quam in causa, spei esset.*

non alii, we should have expected *dicimus* or the like introducing conclusion; but cf. 51, 2; Praef. 7 *si...ea*; 1, 28, 5 *ne...in iussu*.

nos C: *alios* P.

3. *per t.*, cf. 21, 63, 4; 1, 11, 5; 1, 48, 2: *in acie*; the prisoners are of two classes, first and most deserving those who fought, secondly the camp garrison, § 9.

cumulis, for dat. cf. 5, 5; also L. 7, 24 *stratis corporibus hostium superstat.*

4. *d. reliquum*, cf. 51, 1: *vallum*, 'our entrenchment':—*victore*, note attributive use which Haase (on Reisig's Lectures on Lat. Language, 104, n. 177) wrongly limits to this word in the best authors; cf. 21, 40, 11; 1, 56, 8.

5. *confertos*, 'the dense masses

of', contrary to fact, cf. 50, 9: *quinquaginta*, but Liv. made Roman loss = 48200 (49, 15).

aliquem; *aliquis* implies existence, but not individuality, *quis* implies neither, *quidam* implies both, though speaker suppresses particulars.

6. *tunc d.* P and most MSS.: *tum* vulg.; cf. 56, 1; 21, 25, 12: *arma*, note *asyndeton enumerativum*; cf. Madv. 434. 1; Kühn. 255.

7. *acceperamus*, 'we had heard', i. e. before we surrendered: *a Gallis*, i. e. after the battle of the Allia, § 8; 50, 1; 5, 48, 8; 25, 6, m.

patres v., i. e. the Senators contemporary with Pyrrhus (B.C. 281—274), who might be regarded as the fathers of the present Senators, as only scions of the noble houses had been admitted since; cf. §§ 8, 14 and 18: *vestros* P and two of best MSS.; the other MSS. read *nostros*.

asperrimos, &c., 'though stern-

illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum
 8 redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et
 ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho
 utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga
 pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum
 corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in
 quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem de-
 9 fecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in
 acie quidem fuerunt, sed praesidio castris relictī,
 quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium

ly opposed to all conditions of peace'; *illos* = 'those men, as we all know', alluding specially to the speech of Ap. Claudius Caecus, who deterred his countrymen from accepting the proposals of Cineas; cf. Epit. 13, m.; Cic. Sen. 6, 16; see Claudius' speech in Plut. Pyrrh. 18—19: for *ad* cf. 21, 25, 5.

legatos, i.e. Fabricius and others; cf. Plut. Pyrrh. 20 ἐκ τοῦτον (B.C. 280) πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ περὶ Γάϊον Φαβρίκιον, οὗ πλείστον ἔφη Ῥωμαίους λόγον ἔχειν ὁ Κινέας, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολεμικοῦ, πένητος δὲ ἰσχυρῶς: cf. Hor. O. 1, 12, 40.

captivorum, corr. Ascensius; P prefixes *ad*.

Tarentum, the winter-quarters of Pyrrhus after battle of Heraclea, B.C. 280; cf. 21, 10, 8.

8. *Atqui*, adversative = 'and yet', 'now however', Gr. ἀλλὰ δήπου (or μήν); cf. 39, 8.

ad A. corr. Gron.: P *atqui et aliam*, of the rest the best MSS. have *atque Italiam*, the others *atque* or *atqui in Italiam*. The constr. is *utraque pugna, et (pugna) ad A...et (p.) a. H. fuit infamis*, &c.

ad H., Heraclea (Gr. Ἡράκλεια) sc. *urbs* (lit. 'the city of Hercules', mod. Policaro) was a sea-port town of Lucania and a colony of Tarentum B.C. 432; cf. 1, 18, 2; 8. 24, in. It is said to have been the birthplace of Zeuxis: see also 25, 6, in.; Flor. 1, 18, 7.

infamis, 'disgraceful': *pavore*, occasioned by supposed death of Pyrrhus; but Plut. Pyrrh. 24, 17 says that the battle was hotly contested—τροπὰς ἐπὶ λέγεται φευγόντων ἀνάπαλιν καὶ διωκόντων γενέσθαι.

nisi in, &c. = *n. ii, in*, &c.; translate—'and only those of us survive the battle, whom the foe lacked weapons and strength to slay'; for appositional use of *ii*, cf. § 10 *plerique*.

9. *ne*, corr. Gron.: P *nec: fuerunt, fuere* Alsch.: P *refugerunt* (so vulg.) = 'who did not even flee on the field of battle', or, 'who, not having been even in the battle, fled': Perizonius conj. *ex acie (refugerunt)*; cf. § 10.

praesidio, cf. 23, 10: Pol. represents all the prisoners as having formed part of the camp-garrison; cf. Pol. 6, 58; supra 52, 2.

venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constituerunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia

10. *ullius*, explained by *ne illi q.: invideo...velim*, note changes of mood; cf. 21, 13, 5: *premando*=*elevando* (Pers. 1, 6), cf. 12, 12.

extulisse, cf. 39, 17; for perf. =pres. infin. cf. 30, 14, m.; Hor. O. 3, 4, 52; Virg. A. 6, 77; Rob. 1371; but Riem. explains it 'I should not wish it to be said that I had glorified myself' &c. This perf. is often found with *volo*, cf. *S. C. de Bacchanalibus* (ap. White & Rid. 2096) *Nequis Eorum Bacanal Habuisse Velet*.

ne illi...nisi, cf. § 2; we must supply before it 'yet I will only say that' &c.; cf. 21, 40, 7.

aliquod, not enclitic *quid*=*τ*, cf. 28, 8. *plerique*, 'for the most part', cf. 60, 9; 23, 13, 3; 4, 4, m. *plerique habetis*; 37, 54, m. *ausi sumus quaeque civitas*; Rob. 129, 5.

Venusiae, cf. 49, 14: *Canusii*, cf. 52, 4: *merito*=*iure*, &flws: if it were noun we should have *suo*; cf. § 13.

praetulerint...glor. s., perf. subj. potential, called hypo-

thetical by Rob. 1540, 'can prefer themselves to us or boast'; cf. Sen. Dial. 1, 4, 6 *illos merito quis dixerit miseros*.

nobis; Alsch. *nobismet* (so F. & H., cf. 49, 11): *P nobismet* (dots='strike out'), which probably arose from preceding *nobis merito*.

11. *et illis*, Crév.: *P illis et*: Bauer retains MS. conjecturing *nobis b....utemini, nobis* (Hwg. et n. cf. 21, 12, 7): *utemini*, with abl. of noun and adj.=you will find in them good' &c., like Gr. *χρδομαι*. As a matter of fact the Senate employed the remnant, which escaped from Cannae, only for garrison duty.

etiam, =*ετι* to strengthen comparatives, cf. Cic. Fin. 5, 20 *etiam clariora*; like *adhuc* in later writers; cf. Tac. G. 19 and 29: *promptioribus*, i.e. than the others: *pro*, cf. 21, 9, 4 (vulg. *gr. pro Romanis*).

12. *fortuna*, 'class'; cf. 57, 9 and 11: *non minor*, for the numbers of the prisoners cf. 49, 13 and 18; 52, 4; 60, 9 and 19; Pol. 6, 58, 2 states that Hannibal kept with

- servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam
 13 nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito
 14 faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui [vos] hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix
 15 existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cer-

him 800 Roman citizens: Perizon. conj. *nec multo minor*, as it appears from the following chap. that the prisoners = 7000; Rup. conj. *vix minor*; Drakenborch . thinks that Iunius (?) purposely exaggerates.

nec m. p., cf. 57, 12; for *nec = et non*, cf. 21, 48, 9; 22, 17, 6: *redimi...emuntur* (sc. by the state from their owners), for distinction cf. 57, 11—12. Hannibal sold his Roman prisoners in Greece for 500 Denarii, i.e. £17. 14. 2.

nam, an ellipsis, sc. 'I compare only our numbers and the money to be paid, not our intrinsic value, for' &c.; cf. use of ἄλλὰ γὰρ.

13. *in tali c.*, 'in deliberating on such a measure': *censeam*, potential, cf. 21, 18, 6.

iam, Valla: *tam* P and nearly all MSS.: *tamen* one of the best MSS. (so vulg., cf. 21, 49, 9).

duriores, 'over severe': *quod*, &c., 'although we have done nothing to deserve such treatment'.

14. *vos* P, M, Gaertn. and Hav.: *nos* several MSS. (so vulg.); but the word is probably a ditto-

graphy of following *hos*—; Crév. conj. *suos*, Meyerhöfer *velut* (so Luterb.).

numero, for abl. cf. 8, 24, 4; but Caes. B. G. 1, 28 has *in hostium numero habuit*; cf. use of *loco* and *in loco*. D. Cassius 40, 23 says that Pyrrhus 'took great care of the prisoners'.

barbaro, i.e. a foreigner, as opposed to Greek or Roman, Pyrrhus being a Greek. Plato divides mankind into Greeks and Barbarians, as the Jews classed mankind under Jews or Hebrews and Gentiles. Periplectomenes a Greek (ap. Plaut. Mil. 2, 2, 58) applies it to Naevius; cf. Plaut. As. Prol. 11; ib. Curc. 1, 2, 63. The Greek dictum was *ἄνθρωπος ἢ Ἕλλην Βάρβαρος*.

ac P., 'or rather'; cf. 21, 17, 4; ib. 53, 4: *crudelior*, &c., for Hannibal's character cf. 50, 6: *existimari* (some MSS. *aestimari*), 'to be decided'; cf. Sall. I. 85, 14; so *existimatio* = judgment, 4, 15, 1; cf. Praef. 8.

15. *videatis*, cf. 21, 53, 5: *squalorem*, cf. 21, 40, 9; ib. 39, 2; 2, 23, 3 *obsita...squalore vestis*.

natis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, mediusfidius, 17 ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quum indigni ut redimeremur a vobis visisimur. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho 18 sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego

campis, for abl. (usually with adj.) cf. 43, 10; 21, 28, 7.

16. *Intueri*, because the doors of the Curia (55, 1) stood open during the sittings of the House; cf. 3, 41, 4.

vestibulo, but cf. 60, 1 in *comitio*; we may compare with it the Lobby of the House of Commons.

ita suspensi, 'in such suspense', cf. 8, 13, f.; 7, 30, f. *sollicitis ac pendentibus animi* MSS. *animis*; 39, 29, 1; cf. also *μετέωρος*.

17. *Sed si*, P set ||| *si*: C *si* (vulg., Madv.).

mediusfidius, 'by the god of truth', or 'good heavens!' the full expression = *sic me deus Fidius* (= *fidei*) *iuvet, amet* or *amabit*: the 'god of faith' = Iuppiter, called by the Greeks *Ἰλιθιος*, and by the Sabines *Sancus* or *Semo*: other explanations are *dus fidius* = *Diovis* (or *Διὸς*) *filius* = *Hercules*, *l* being used for *d* as in *Ulixes* = *Ὀδυσσεύς*; or the expression = *per divi fidem* or *per diurni temporis* (i.e. *diei*) *fidem*: Voss regards *me as* = *μὰ*, so that *medius* = *μὰ*

Δα (but nom. is used); cf. *mehercules* (21, 38, 9): the oath properly belongs to men, as *mecastor*, *ecastor*, *edepol* to women, though the rule is often broken.

mitis, i.e. if he should favour us like the allies (58, 2), or as Pyrrhus did, § 18: *censeamus*, cf. § 13: *quum*, &c. 'after having appeared', &c.: *indigni ut*, &c. 'unworthy of being ransomed'; we should have expected *qui*; but for constr. cf. 23, 42, 13; *dignus* is also found with personal constr. 4, 49, m., and with acc. and infin. 8, 26, f.

a vobis, P (to be taken with *redimeremur*): Madv. strikes out prep. making *vobis* depend on *visi*. s.

simus, corr. Muret: all MSS. *sumus*, which some defend, taking *quum* = *postquam*; but subj. is preferable, as this is a supposed case, not a fact.

18. *Rediere*, C (2nd h.): PC *redire romam*: though the prisoners returned to Rome for the Saturnalia unransomed, the Senate had testified by their

- in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis ?
 19 Suum quisque *habet* animum, patres conscripti. Scio, in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

LX. *Effects of speech. Reply of Manlius Torquatus.*

- 1 Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, 2 cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Sena-

envoys their readiness to pay the ransom: *remissi*, &c., cf. 7, 5; Epit. 13, in.

capti, C: P *captiti*; perh. Liv. wrote *captivi*, cf. § 14; but *capti* = *captivi* 9, 7, 10: *cum legatis*, &c., cf. § 7.

sese refers to subject of *rediere*, i.e. *capti*: *missis*, sc. *ad Pyrrhum*.

Redeam, subj. with indignant question, implying that it is not to be contemplated; cf. 60, 18; 4, 3, f.; so with *ut*, Cic. Cat. 1, 9 *Te ut ulla res frangat?*; cf. Madv. 353: note transition from sing. to plur. in this and next section; cf. 50, 7.

trecentis, cf. 52, 2; 58, 4: *nummus* generally = *sestertius*, i.e. about 2d.

19. *habet*, added in pre-Aldine edd.: the sense is—others may think differently, but I prefer death to disgrace: *ne...abeamus* = epexegetis to *famae*; cf. 24, 2.

1. Speech:—6—7 A few words would have sufficed had the envoys merely proposed that the prisoners should be ransomed: 8—14 their conduct since the

battle of Cannæ proves them undeserving of it: 14—16 being slaves of the Carthaginians now, it is too late to wish to return: 17—21 having played the part of cowards, how can they prove brave and loyal citizens? 22—26 we can expect no bravery from those who surrendered the camp: 27 better surrender our brave remnant than ransom such dastards.

comitio, cf. 7, 7; 59, 16: *cognatos*, not *maritos* or *patres*, because women and children are not admitted close to the Senate house; the women stand further off, § 2.

2. *metus*, i.e. lest they should lose their supporters: *necessitas*, either 'the force of circumstances', as they were dependent upon their captive husbands and others (23, 36, 8), or 'ties of affection' = *necessitudo*; cf. *necessarius*, and ἀνάγκη.

foro, corr. Gron.: P *foro ac turbæ*: vulg. against MSS. *turbæ huic*. *Senatus*, &c., 'strangers (i.e. the ten delegates of the prisoners,

tus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi quum 3
sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico,
alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohi-
bendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in 4
praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam
mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cavendum populo
censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis 5
duræ, ut plerisque videbatur, severitatis, interroga-
tus sententiam ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo 6
postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate
sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum

cf. 1, 41, 1) were called upon to withdraw, and the Senators were asked their opinion'; cf. 56, 1.

3. *variaretur*, cf. 21, 28, 5; 1, 43, 11: *de publico*=*ἐκ κοινού*, *δημοσίᾳ*: cf. § 4; 21, 14, 1: *nec*=*non tamen*, cf. 21, 51, 3: *prohibendos*, cf. 14, 2; 19, 10; 34, 3; 3, 28, 7; Kühn. 254; Madv. 396, 3.

4. *praesentia*, abl. fem.; subst. neut. pl. *praesentia* (from *praesens*) is not so used, though in sing. we find in *praesens*: *dandam.. mutuam*, op. *sumere m.*

aerario (sc. *stabulo*)=*τὸ ταμείον*: this was in the temple of Saturn at Rome, which coincided with the Greek custom; cf. *θησαυρός*, *πισθόδομος*: it is to be distinguished from *fiscus*; for its division into sacred and common, its augmentation by the *vice-sima* on manumissions, and its management by the quaestors under the Senate, cf. Smith, D. A.

praedibusque, &c., 'that security should be given to the state by bondsmen and mortgages' (on the bondsmen's property): cf. Inscript. Grut. 307, 3 *qui redemerit*, *praedes dato praediaque subsignato duumvirum arbitrato*; for abl. cf. 25, 7: cf. *vas*, of which *praes* is a compound, *praedes*=

praevides (i.e. *praevides*).

5. *Manlius*, consul B.C. 235, when he conquered the Sardinians, and B.C. 224, censor B.C. 231, dictator for holding comitia B.C. 208. In his first consulship the temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa: in his second consulship, he and his colleague were the first Roman generals who crossed the Po. He died B.C. 202. For the cognomen given to his ancestor cf. 7, 10, f.: see 23, 34, 15.

videbatur, C: P *uideatur*: P² *uideatur*: Hwg. and Wfl. prefer P. where *plerisque*=readers of Livy; cf. Praef. 4. Hwg. thinks that C probably arose from *u* (often=*b* in MSS.) being written over *a* in P.

severitatis, for this family characteristic, cf. Livy's remarks about the dictator surnamed *Imperiosus* 4, 29, m.: for gen. cf. 21, 1, 4; ib. 34, 2; 22, 15, 3 and 5; also 21, 52, 2; 22, 22, 8: Cic. does not thus connect gen. with proper noun, but with *vir* or *homo*; cf. Madv. 287, 3.

interrogatus=more usual *rogatus* s.: l. *fertur*, cf. 21, 43, 1.

6. *insectatione*, cf. 34, 2; s.

- 7 brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae
8 illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate
9 essent. Sed quum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum

peregissem, 'I would have stated my opinion'; cf. 1, 18, 10; L. 3, 40; so *perago* alone 1, 32, 7; L. 34, 31.

7. *quid*, &c., 'you would have only needed to be admonished'—subj. because the thought is conditional; cf. 61, 15; for the elliptical expression (= *quid aliud mihi faciendum esset, quam ut vos admonerem*) cf. Rob. 1441; Madv. 479, d. 5; cf. *τί (οὐδέν) ἄλλο ἤ; ἄλλο τι ἤ*; see 12, 11; 29, 11.

exemplo, = *dat.com.*; cf. L. 3, 67 *posteris memoriae traditum*; see 61, 1; Pol. 6, 58 says that Hannibal tried to weaken the resistance of the Roman soldiers by holding out hopes of safety, even if they should be defeated. Manlius means that their ancestral custom was to refuse to ransom prisoners as detrimental to military discipline. Roman conservatives always appealed to the *mos institutumque maiorum* (Cic. Agr. 2, 1, 1), which

was more than 'immemorial usage' among ourselves.

Nunc autem, cf. § 20; 39, 3; 21, 40, 3: *dediderint*, P: many MSS. *dederint*, due to *e* being written over *i* in P.

praeferri, sc. *se* (added by Wesenberg; so Madv.; but cf. 21, 34, 2), governed by *aequum c.*, cf. 32, 6; cf. also *δικαίω, ἀξίω*; *captis*, cf. 59, 3: *pervenerunt*, cf. 59, 10: *Terentio*, and yet the disaster was mainly due to him; but cf. 61, 14.

8. *Atque u.*, introducing a new thought; cf. 21, 41, 13; ib. 40, 10 (*ac*): *acturus*, cf. 21, 53, 6: *ignaviae c.*, for gen. depending on gen. cf. 22, 8 (*pot. eius*); for thought cf. 26, 44, 8.

Sempronius, cf. 50, 6—10: *isti*, used contemptuously, like §§ 17 and 27.

9. *Sed*, conj. Gron.: all MSS. *et*, inappropriate for description here commencing.

tum, for absence of foregoing *primum*, which is implied, cf.

victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam *per* confertos hostes possent, neque *per* se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico

50, 4 *deinde*; or we may understand a preceding *quum*, as in 46, 6.

et ipsis, i.e. as well as the Romans; others render 'of themselves', i.e. not compelled by the enemy; but cf. 21, 46, 3.

plerisque, not *all*, for the Numidians had surrounded the Roman camp, 50, 8—11: *liberam*, cf. 34, 11.

per c., prep. added by Alsch.; cf. §§ 17 and 27; 6, 8; 50, 8; 59, 5; vulg. reads *septem a. h. millia perrumpere etiam conf.*

p. se ipsi, = *sponte*, *ultra*; cf. § 23; 22, 14.

10. *tota*, this appears an exaggeration; cf. 50, 6: for abl. of duration, instead of acc. with or without *per*, cf. 61, 9, *omni ...vita*; 30, 9; this usage is rare in classical authors.

monere, *adhortari*, for *asyn-deton* cf. 21, 10, 3; 22, 29, 11: for combination cf. Sall. I. 60, 4.

paucitas = *pauci*, cf. 57, 11: *tegere posset*, P, C, M, Cant.: vulg. *tegeret*.

11. *Si, ut...si, ut* emend. Madv.: P *sicut...sicut* (so vulg.): Weiss, *si, sicut*, &c.; but cf. 34,

2, 7; so in Tac. H. 1, 83, f. *si, ubi iubeantur* the MSS. Flor. Guelf., &c. have *sicubi*.

Decius, sc. *dixit*. He was surnamed *Mus*, i.e. 'Mouse', which also appears as a Greek name—*Mys*. During the first Samnite War in B.C. 343 he saved the Roman army at Saticula in Samnium (7, 32, in.) by seizing a strategical height. Arn. 2, 113 regards the story as a mere panegyric; while Momms. 1, 365—6, n. considers it as modelled on the exploit of Calp. Flamma, and unworthy of credit. In B.C. 340 at the battle of Vesuvius he devoted himself to death; cf. L. 7, 34—36: his son at the battle of Sentinum B.C. 295 against the Gauls is said to have done the same.

nobis ad.; M. Torquatus was between 17 and 20 in B.C. 258 when Calp. Flamma achieved the deed—at Camarina in Sicily. Cf. A. Gell. 3, 7 where Cato, Orig., calls him Q. Caedicius and compares his self-sacrifice to that of Leonidas, while C. Quadrigarius calls him Valerius or Laberius; but Frontin. Strat. 1, 5,

- bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit: "Moriatur, milites, et morte nostra
 12 eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones", si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducere, si nemo tantae virtutis extitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad
 13 parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet.
 15 Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo

15 (cf. ib. 4, 5, 10) corroborates Liv. (see Epit. 17, f.): cf. Arn. 2, 578: Sen. Ep. 82, f. only calls him *dux ille Romanus*, quoting his exhortation—*Ire, commilitones, illo necesse est, unde redire non est necesse*. For another of the same plebeian gens cf. 61, 6. *priore*, i.e. from Manlius' standpoint; cf. 21, 50, 9; but *primo* from Livy's standpoint 23, 6: *trecentis*, dat. after *dixit*.

obsidione, 'peril', lit. 'state of blockade'; but may not Liv. have written *occidione* (cf. 54, 7)?

12. *diceret*, imperf. for plup., cf. 46, 4: *nec...nec*, Gron. conj. *ne v. q., nedium R.*

equidem...ducerem, conj. Koeh: *P quidem...duceret* (so vulg.); cf. 59, 10: for thought *viros...R.* cf. 14, 11; 1, 59, 4; 7, 35, m.

vos, a rhetorical turn, for the prisoners were absent and their delegates removed, § 2; cf. § 13.

tantae v., abstract for concrete = *tam fortis viri*, cf. 28, 2.

13. *Viam*, supply *nunc autem*,

'as it is' &c.; for Asyndeton Adversativum cf. 21, 43, 6: *demonstrat*; *reduces*, corr. Lips.: *P demonstraret duces*: for intensive force of *de* cf. 49, 3: see also Virg. A. 2, 387; ib. 6, 96— for thought, *facit=faciet*, *facturus erat*, cf. 21, 13, 6 and 7.

14. *Quinquaginta*, cf. 59, 5; but Liv. makes the total 48,200 in 49, 15.

Si tot, &c., for a similar turn of the sentence cf. 14, 4; *movent...m.*, for repetition cf. 21, 13, 3; ib. 63, 12; 5, 5, 1.

vilem, 'worthless', 'not worth living', i.e. a *bios ábios* to the survivors; cf. 44, 7: *faciet*, Bâle ed. 1531: *P facietet* (a ditto-graphy).

15. *Liberi*, &c., 'While free and possessed of full civic rights show your affection for', &c. The passage is somewhat obscure. Walk. interprets it—'seek a return to your native land, when you are safe and free, which will never be the case'. But my idea

desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis! sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. *Quaquam* 17 *quid* ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quum scelus possem accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent.

is this—Manlius pictures to himself the moment when Semp. was exhorting his troops to follow him—§ 10, pointing out a way of safety, § 13; he therefore supposes them still freemen and citizens: from this he suddenly returns to the fact—it is too late now' to do so.

deminuti c., 'degraded', explained by following—i.e. having lost freedom, citizenship and family, called *maxima capitis deminutio*, which happened when a man was sold as a slave, exiled, or condemned to death; *media* or *minor* c. d. = loss of citizenship by *interdictio igni et aqua*; *minima* c. d. = change of family status by adoption or marriage. In this sense *caput* (originally = entry of citizen's name on censor's register) = the sum total of rights enjoyed by one who is free, a citizen and member of a family, nearly = *persona*. A prisoner might recover his legal status by the *ius postliminii*, but not those who surrendered to the enemy while able to resist. See Justin. Instit. 1, 16, with Sandars' notes. Cf. case of Regulus, Hor. O. 3, 5, 41 sqq.

abalienati, 'deprived of', 'dis-

franchised from': Madv. reads *abalienato*; but I think the MS. reading may be defended by Cic. pro Corn. *ne potestate abalienemur*; cf. N. T. Eph. 2, 12 ἀλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας: so 25, 39, 4 *alienatos sensibus*. Heraeus rejects the three words as a gloss.

16. *Pretio*, &c. 'Is money to restore you to a position, which you have lost?' viz. of full burgesses: *audistis*, 'ye listened to' and obeyed.

post paulo, so *post aliquanto* 2, 31, in.; *ante annis octo* L. 40, 52; *post paucis diebus* L. 32, 5.

17. *Quaquam* ('And yet') corr. Ussing: P *quam* (so vulg. with interrogation): Weiss. adds *quid*...?

modo enim, P and one of best MSS.: vulg. transposes; but cf. 40, 8: *sed*, cf. 20, 7: *obsistere*, old edd. *subsistere*; but cf. § 21.

conati s., we must supply *et eum retinuisent*, or the like, before *ni*; cf. L. 2, 10 *iter paene... dedit, ni...vir fuisset*. Tac. is fond of this construction, especially with imperf. indic.; cf. Tac. A. 1, 23.

strictis, &c., alluding to the

- 18 Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem
 19 haberet? Ex milibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sexcentis hos-
 20 tes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam 'fortes' ne ipsi quidem dixe-
 21 rint) cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest, aut favisse erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsis-

600 (50, 10—11): *summovissent*, cf. 56, 1.

18. *Hos*, 'such as these': *quorum si*, for collocation cf. § 18; 21, 43, 16. After *similis* Plaut. and Ter. always have gen.; Virg. Hor. and Ov. usually dat. Cic. and Liv. use both; cf. 5, 21, m. with L. 10, 20; Rob. 1317. The sense is—If the rest had been such dastards, not one would have escaped; but 600 were of different mettle.

19. *Ex m. s.*, i.e. in smaller camp; cf. 50, 4 and 11: *his &c.* corr. Madv.: *P hiis sescenta milia h.*: vulg. after Sabellicus, *iis quadraginta milia hostium*: Heerw. *iis sescenta milia hostium*: Riem. *his sexcentis quadraginta millia ob.* (regarding *hostes* as gloss): Weiss. *tot milia hostium*. Render, 'And the enemy could not stop' &c., though they tried (50, 11).

20. *quam tutum*, i.e. if 600 forced their way, a body of about 8000 men could have done so with greater safety. For emphatic

conclusion by interrogative cf. § 14; 59, 16.

Haberetis, i.e. if the rest in the smaller camp had acted like the 600.

viginti m., cf. 56, 2: Liv. is speaking roughly, as prob. there would have been more; cf. 49, 18.

fortia, f., cf. 21, 44, 2; Stroth. and Rup. prefer reading of two MSS. *fortium, fidelium*; but for adj. agreeing with *milia* cf. 21, 55, 4: for asyndeton cf. § 10; 37, 12.

Nunc autem, cf. 39, 3; 21, 40, 3: *boni...fortes*, cf. 37, 4; 59, 11: *fortes* sc. *se esse*; cf. 4, 7; Bauer inserts *se* before *dixerint*.

21. *aut favisse*, conj. Madv., i.e. helping them by act or encouragement. *P fuisse ut* (so vulg. *fuisse, ut* reading *quin* for *qui*, *ne* = 'unless one can believe that they were good and loyal, when they attempted to prevent the rest from sallying forth'): Lips. conj. *sint, at &c.*, so that *fuisse, ut* = *fieri posse, ut*: edd.

tere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos quum incolu-
 mitati, tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, quum
 sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae
 causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes 22
 simul lucem atque hostem expectare, quum silentio
 noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At ad erumpendum
 e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra
 animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi 23
 vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima
 ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia vitae deessent
 affectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequi-
 rent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi
 sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante 24
 secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis ex-
 perti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis 25

before Gron. *fuisse, qui*: Weiss.
fuisse usui.

qui, n. e., P *quinecrumperent*.
invidere, so that their envy
 will prevent them from being
 faithful comrades in future.

22. *silentio n.*, cf. § 10; for
 abl. cf. 4, 4 *solis oc.*; also 42,
 8; 21, 47, 2.

At, Wex: *At enim*, vulg. after
 Ascensius (Drak. observes that
 these might easily have dropped
 out before similar following syl-
 lables *ad erum*). 'But, you will
 say'—ironical to end of § 23 *v.*
sunt; for rhetorical objection
 = *Ἀνθυποφορά* (Quint. 9, 13, 87)
 cf. 21, 18, 9; Manlius answers it
 in § 24.

defuit a., 'they had not the
 courage'.

23. *v. armis*, corr. Gron., cf.
 § 26: *Parma*: for similar expres-
 sion cf. 28, 2, 16.

ipsi, inferior MSS. *ipsos*; but
 cf. 21, 14, 1; 1, 8, 2: *ultima*,
 cf. 21, 41, 11: *o. subsidia*, 'every
 support', specially water, as

they were cut off from the river
 (52, 1).

deessent, late MSS.: P *abde-*
sunt: vulg. *abessent* (preferred
 by Fabri).

affectisque, cf. 21, 11, 13; so
conficio 2, 7; 61, 9.

24. *Orto s.*, cf. § 22: *hostis*,
 late MSS.: P, C, M, Cant. *ab*
hostibus: some inferior MSS. *ab*
hostibus accessum (preferred by
 Alsch. and Heerw.). Wf. taking
 prep. as transposition reads *ab*
orto s., cf. 7, 14; 40, 4. Man-
 lius now states fact against sup-
 posed objector.

ante secundam h., viz. after
 sunrise, i.e. before 8 o'clock.
 The ordinary day among the
 Romans consisted of 12 hours
 from sunrise to sunset. On the
 marking of time by sun-dials
 and water-clocks, cf. Beck. Gall.
 315 sqq.; Smith D. A. s. v. *dies*.
 The statement here is obviously
 an exaggeration; cf. 51, 5 sqq.

se ipsos, cf. 53, 13.

25. *vobis*, 'for you', 'mark

istorum per biduum militia fuit. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt: quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, 26 neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; quum manere castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis 27 hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt."

LXI. *Senate resolve not to ransom prisoners. Conflicting statements. Revolts among Roman allies. Varro receives the thanks of his countrymen.*

1 Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter

you' C. and B., = *dat. ethicus* of person interested, here = senators, confined to personal pronouns: cf. Rob. 1150: *istorum*, Weiss.: *P ipsorum*: cf. § 17 and 27.

decuerat C: *decuerit* P: for pluperf. cf. 22, 19; it implies that the act in past time is no longer possible; so *oportuerat* Cic. Mur. 25; cf. Madv. 348, e. 1; Rob. 1535.

tum, P *cum*: Luchs simply strikes it out.

pro v., either 'in defence of', or 'in front of', 'before', with collateral notion of 'on', unlike *ante* (cf. 23, 16, 4 where both occur); cf. § 23; also 21, 41, 14; ib. 7, 8.

in acie, cf. § 14; so *in acie stanti* 23, 16, 10.

26. *Et vos*, Alsch.: P and almost all MSS. *quos* (which

Heerw. thinks arose from *duos*): vulg. *vos*, here = prisoners, op. § 25: for *et* introducing indignant question = Gr. *etia*, cf. Cic. Mil. 33, 91.

e castris, for prep. cf. § 22 and 27: MSS. and vulg. omit it; cf. 35, 11, 4 *se parte*, *utra vellet...erupturum*; Sall. I. 99, 1.

castra t., Madv. prefixes *et*, Wfl. *cum*, as the verbs are not synonymous, but cf. § 23: for following polysyndeton cf. 1, 9; Kühn. 286.

necesse (cf. 21, 11, 1), i.e. the nature of the case requires, while *oportet* involves duty and honour.

1. *cognatione at.*, 'were nearly related to': *praeter ex.*, 'in addition to the traditions of' (or 'precedent set by') the state'; cf. Nägelsb. 204.

exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad sena-

iam inde a., 'from the very beginning' = *iam i. ab initiiis urbis* (9, 17, 10), *iam i. a principis gentis* (28, 48, 6), Gr. ἀρχῆθεν: the term. -itus = 'proceeding from', cf. *divinitus* (1, 4, 4), *humanitus*, *funditus*, *coelitus*, *radicitus*: for assertion cf. 59, 1; *homines* = *patres*, senators.

2. *quia*, late MSS. P, C *quam*: several late MSS. *qua* (preferred by Heerw. as nearer to P; but abl. seems hardly right. Cf. 34, 13, m. *opes exhaurire*).

exhauriri, corr. Heraeus: P *exhaurire* (so vulg., retained by Heerw. who compares 21, 38, 6 for change to pass.); cf. 21, 21, 8.

erogata, cf. 23, 8; for statement cf. 57, 11.

ad m. (to be joined with *emendos*, cf. 19, 4), 'for', i.e. 'with a view to'; cf. 13, 9; 1, 33, 8.

armandos, the burgesses supplied their own accoutrements; cf. 57, 10.

huiusce rei = *pecuniae*; for gen. cf. 31, 3; hence the Senate objected also to the second proposal (60, 3); cf. 57, 12. But this is a feeble argument, as Han-

nibal subsequently got about £24000 by the sale of his prisoners in Greece and elsewhere; cf. 34, 50, m.

3. *triste*, cf. 21, 12, 4: *non redimi*, 'are not to be ransomed', pres. for fut.; or, perhaps, 'that prisoners (in general) are not ransomed' by Rome.

magnis, 'loud'; cf. 8, 9, 4 *magna voce*; N. T. Rev. 18, 2 φωνῇ μεγάλῃ = 'with a strong voice'; ib. Heb. 5, 7 μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων = 'with strong crying and tears'; cf. Nägelsb. 70, who quotes Caes. B. G. 1, 32, 3 *magno fletu*; see 21, 43, 3.

questibusque, the enclitic is wanting in P and one of the best MSS. but is added by a later hand. Heerw. prefers to omit it, the asyndeton being more emphatic; cf. 29, 11.

prosecuti s., subj. = the crowd in the Comitium, 60, 1; for verb cf. 40, 4.

4. *Unus*, cf. 58, 8; but cf. § 8; Gell. says *two*; but cf. Cic. Off. 1, 13, 40 (if genuine).

exsolvisset, cf. 8, 9, f.; subj. because thought of envoys. Cf. § 8; for *quod* with subj. cf. 21, 1, 3.

tum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

- 5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne
6 tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L.
7 Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hanni-

custodibus, &c., 'under an escort furnished by the State', C. and B.

5. *alia*, as op. 58, 6; Liv. adopts this statement in 24, 18, m. *qui captivorum* &c., deriving it probably through Caelius from Acilius, a Greek historian, to whose Annals Liv. refers 25, 39, 12; 35, 14, 5; Teuffel R. L. 1, 165; Cic. Off. 3, 32, 115; cf. § 10.

primos, 'the first in rank'; so Pol. 6, 58, 3 δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανέστατους: Cic. Off. 3, 32, 113 *ex decem nobilissimis*; Wölf. conj. *primo* to correspond with *deinde*; perh. the MS. reading may be taken predicatively = 'were the first to come'; cf. Ter. Ad. 4, 2, 7 and 9 *primum ait se scire*. For the *decem primi* (*decaproti*) or committee of decuries in *municipia* cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 9, 25; also Smith D. A. Senatus 1017; for *fama* cf. 21, 1, 4.

ita...ne tamen, for *ita tamen...ne = ut ne* (Cic.), Gr. ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ δμῶς, 'on the understanding however that they should not have an audience' (59, 1; 21, 12, 8); cf. 21, 19, 5; 31, 25, m.; 1, 17, 8; so *ita...ut*, L. 8, 38.

6. *morantibus*, for abl. without pron. cf. 7, 5; 21, 57, 3: *longius = diutius*, i.e. longer than any of the prisoners with Hannibal expected; cf. 21, 6, 5.

tres, App. H. 28 only notices these.

insuper, cf. 56, 6; 3, 12; 21, 14, 2; ib. 55, 6; also ib. 1, 5.

Calpurnium, for another of this plebeian family, cf. 60, 11.

Manlium, for other members of the family cf. 35, 1; 60, 5; for polysyndeton with proper nouns cf. 53, 1; also 1, 8—12.

7. *tum*, the second embassy also having been refused a hearing.

cognato, prob. identical with L. Scribonius Libo 23, 21, 6. It was natural that he should have espoused his relative's cause. It is noteworthy that this was the first time that a tribune usurped the consul's functions in consulting the Senate; cf. 21, 6, 3 and 5; 4, 12, 4; Momms. Staatsrecht 2, 311.

novos, &c. 'the three last envoys'; for *novus* cf. 35, 7; 1, 1, 11; L. 7, 7 *novus veteri exercitus iungitur*.

balem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per 8
 causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hanni-
 balem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvis-
 sent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu
 esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos cen-
 suerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus 9
 notis ignominiosisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum
 mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non
 foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac

revertisse; *reverti* is used in classical authors as perf. of dep. *revertor*, so *reverteram* as plup., but part. *reversus*.

8. *per causam* = *praetextu*, 'under the pretext of reviewing the names'; cf. 4, 41, 6 *per speciem vicis fungendae*; Gr. διὰ πρόφασιν, πρόσχημα.

ex itinere, 'from their journey' just begun; for prep. cf. 55, 4.

religione, sc. *iuris iurandi*, cf. § 4; *exsolviscent*, cf. § 4; 58, 8; also 21, 62, 11; 5, 23, 8; op. *religione obligare* or *obstringere* (9, 11, 7; 39, 37, 6).

victos, &c., 'were defeated by a small majority'; cf. Dem. Mid. 22 μὲν μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ.

9. *proximis c.* = ἐπὶ τιμητῶν ἐπιόντων, 'under the next censors', who inflicted the punishment; not to be rendered 'by' (as Spil-lan and Edmonds), which would be a *prox. c.*; cf. Hor. O. 3, 21, 1; Madv. 277; Rob. 1180. The censors referred to are Atilius Regulus and Furius Philus of B.C. 214; cf. 25, 16; 35, 5. For the statement and expressions here used cf. Cic. Off. 3, 111 and 115.

adeo, &c., 'so crushed they were under every mark of censure and degradation', C. and B.; cf. 2

7; 41, 6. Sigon. prefers *adfectos* found in one MS. (so Gell. 7, 18); but cf. 1, 23, 9 (cf. διαγάζομαι): for the punishment inflicted cf. 24, 18, 6; they were removed from their tribe and degraded to rank of *aerarii*, while the knights lost the horses given by the state; cf. Gell. l. c.; Pol. 6, 58. The *nota censoria* through *motio e tribu* deprived a citizen of his *suffragium*, involving *ignominia*, but not *infamia*, which was lasting. The *nota* comprised four heads: cf. Smith D. A.

omni d. v., 'during all the rest of their lives'; for attributive adv. cf. 21, 36, 6; ib. 52, 5, where adv. also stands between adj. and noun; cf. 17, 3 (like Gr. ὅ ἄφνω διαδρομῇ, cf. Dem. Phil. 1, 4, 16); cf. Nägelsb. 23, 230.

sed, cf. 20, 7; 1, 40, 1 and 2: *publico c.*, 'shunned ('abstained from') publicity', because they could no longer vote; cf. 55, 6; Cic. Mil. 7, 18 *caruit foro...caruit publico*. Hannibal, meanwhile, put to death several of the prisoners, while he sent some of the chief ones to Carthage; cf. Eutrop. 3, 11; Zon. 9, 2; Arn. 3, 154.

- 10 publico caruerint. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas.
- Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant
- 11 de imperiō. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites
- 12 praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos

10. *discrepare*, cf. 36, 5: *quid veri*, cf. 40, 8: *discernere*, cf. 21, 4, 3; 7, 9, 7.

vel ea, P *vel de ea res*; cf. 21, 13, 3.

indicio est, quod f. s. Alsch.: *vulg. indicio e. q. qui s. a. e. d. firmi steterant...coeperunt: P indiciorum quae eadem | diem f. s. t. laborare*: Salmasius prefers *vel fides indicat sociorum, quae ad eum d. f. s., t. laborare c.*: Gron. *vel declarat fides sociorum, quae eam ad d. f. s., t. labare c. eam d.*, cf. 22, 11: for the fidelity of the allies, cf. 13, 11; 39, 12.

labare C (2nd h.), C¹ *labrare*: P *laborare*: text = 'to waver'; cf. 2, 39, f.; weaker than *labi*, cf. Praef. 13.

desperaverant, op. Varro § 14. *imperiō*, sc. *Romano*; cf. 51, 4; 55, 5.

11. *Atellani* (Luterb. prefixes *Campani*, i.e. the Capuans), the inhabitants of Atella (near mod. Aversa), an Oscan town of Campania; cf. L. 26, 16 and 34; L. 27, 3. In dramatic history it occupies an important position on account of its plays; cf. 7, 2, 11; Inv. 6, 71; Teuffel R. L. 1, 12. Weiss. thinks it likely that the Atellani and Calatini were in alliance with Capua, which re-

volted after Atella and Calatia; cf. 23, 17, 10; 26, 33, f. The revolt of Capua is described in 23, ch. 2—11. Only some of the following towns revolted at once, the Crotoniats and Locrians a year later, the Tarentines two years later, Metapontum and Thurii four years later: cf. L. 25, 1; Pol. 3, 118, who adds, among the revolters, the inhabitants of Arpi ('Αρπυρι-πρωί'); cf. 1, 9; see Sil. 11, 1 sqq.

Calatini, the inhabitants of Calatia (mod. Guajazzo), a Campanian town; cf. 9, 2, 2; 23, 14, 13; L. 41, 32; L. 42, 20; L. 45, 16; see also 13, 6. Pellegrini finds traces of this place at Le Galazze, not far from Caserta.

Hirpini, cf. 13, 1; 23, 1, 1. *Apulorum*, cf. 23, 11, 11; 24, 45, 1; see 9, 5. *Samnites*, cf. 23, 42, 1; 13, 1. Samnium = Oscan Sabinium, 'the land of the Sabini', Gr. *Σαβίνιος* from *σαβνίον*, 'a javelin', according to Festus.

12. *praeter P.* (edd. before Gron. read *Petelinus*), 'except'; but *praeter hos* = 'besides'. The Pentri were a Samnite tribe, whose capital was Bovianum; cf. 24, 12: they are mentioned now for the last time; cf. 9, 31, 4.

Bruttii, cf. 23, 11, 7. Gell.

Uzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini

10, 13, 19 states that they were the first of the Italians who revolted from Rome to join Hannibal. Bruttium, so called, embraced mod. Calabria Ultra and most of C. Citra. The Lucanians called the natives Bruttii, Gr. Βρῦττιοι = δρᾱπέται. Their capital was Cosentia, mod. Cosenza, which held aloof from Hannibal at first (23, 30, 5), as did also the Petelini (23, 20, 4), and Rhegium (23, 30, 9), so that *omnes* here is not accurate. Rup. with Sigon. reads *praeter Petelinos Bruttii o.*

Lucani (mod. Basilicata and Principato Citeriore), Gr. Λευκανία, from λευκός, probably due to the chalky cliffs of the Apennines. Strab. 5, p. 251 asserts that the Lucanians were degraded by the Romans to the same position as the Bruttii, in consequence of their revolt. But only a part of the people seem to have joined Hannibal; cf. 24, 20, 1; 25, 16, 5. Lucania was celebrated for its wild boars. Cf. Hor. S. 2, 3, 234.

Uzentini (P¹: P² and the other MSS. *Surrentini*, so vulg.—Gron. conj. *Sallentini*), the inhabitants of Uzentum (mod. Ugento), usually written Uxentum (Ptol. Οὔξεντον, cf. Plin. 3, 11, 16), a Calabrian town in the Sallentine district. The chief objection to vulg. is that Surrentum (mod. Sorrento), being a Campanian town, would naturally follow *Calatini*, whereas Liv. is now enumerating the towns on the Tarentine gulf, starting from its eastern end.

Graecorum, &c., i.e. the sea-coast towns of Magna Graecia, particularised in following; cf. L. 31, 7 *ora illa Italiae, quam Maiorem Graeciam vocant.*

Tarentini, cf. 59, 7: 21, 10, 8: for the defection cf. L. 24, 13; 25, 7, 10 sqq. The legend ascribes its foundation to Taras; cf. Hor. O. 1, 28, 29. It was famous for its purple dye; cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 207. Its literary fame rests on Livius Andronicus, and Archytas; cf. Hor. O. 1, 28, 2. Pompey had a villa here; cf. Forsyth's Cic. 311; see ib. 388.

Metapontini, cf. 25, 15, 6. Metapontum (Gr. Μεταπόντιον, mod. Torre di Mare) was founded by a colony of Achaeans under Leucippus, about B.C. 700; though others attribute its foundation to Epeius, the constructor of the wooden horse, or to Pylians, followers of Nestor. Here Pythagoras lived and died.

Crotonienses, cf. 24, ch. 1—3. Croton, Croto or Crotona (Gr. Κροτών, mod. Cotrone) was a town of Bruttium, founded by Achaeans, B.C. 710, named after one Croton (Κροτών, also = a tick, and a berry producing croton oil). Hannibal made it his head-quarters for three winters, L. 29, 36; L. 30, 19. It was early celebrated for the political changes introduced by Pythagoras, about B.C. 540, and also for its struggle with Sybaris, in which its army was led by the famous athlete Milo. The magnificent temple of Lacinian Juno stood about six miles off. Liv.

- 13 omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam
 14 acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae, quod de re
 15 publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

24, 3 describes it as more splendid than the city itself; cf. Virg. A. 3, 552.

Locrig., cf. 23, 30, 8. Locri (mod. Gerace) was founded by a colony of Locrians from Greece, originally established on Cape Zephyrium, whence called Epizephyrii to distinguish them from the L. Ozolae and Opuntii. It was celebrated for possessing the most ancient written code of laws, given by Zaleucus about B. C. 660.

Cisalpini = North Italy; but the Gauls had revolted long before; cf. 21, 55, 4; 23, 24, 6. To Gallia Cisalpina or Citerior (ἡ ἐντὸς Κελτικῆς or Γαλατίας) belonged the Cenomani: see also 21, 35, 9. Gaul proper (mod. France) = Gallia Transalpina (ἡ ὑπεράλπειος Κελτικῆς) the people being called Κελτοί or Γαλάται.

13. *moverunt* = *terruerunt*; for absolute use cf. 6, 8, in.

pacis, for a similar sentiment, cf. Eutrop. 3, 10.

usquam, i.e. in the Senate or popular assembly.

R. adventum, for construction cf. 21, 11, 13. Liv. often uses acc. of name of town after verbal subst. expressing motion or direction; cf. 39, 35 f. *legationem*

Romam; 35, 49, f. *concursationem ab Demetriade Lamiam*; 32, 15, f. *iter a Gomphis Ambraciam*; also 25, 33, m. *reditus domum*; 31, 40, f. *adventum Oreum* (where vulg. inserts *in*); Virg. A. 6, 542; Madv. 233, 2; Rob. 1110, 1168; cf. Gr. τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ τοῦς Θηβαίους, Dem. 19, 81; ἔξαρον εἶναι τὴν διαίταν, Isocr. Call. 13.

14. *tempore*, cf. 35, 7: *ex... clade*, cf. 21, 57, 1; ib. 39, 2: *causa* = *auctor*, cf. 21, 21, 1: *fuisset*, subj. because opinion of people: *frequenter*, 'in crowds'.

ordinibus (abstract for concrete, cf. 59, 12), including *ordo senatorius*, as doubtless the Senate had directed the consuls to give battle to Hannibal; cf. 41, 1. According to Val. Max. 3, 4, 4 the Dictatorship itself was offered to Varro, but declined; cf. Frontin. S. 4, 5, 6. His return is rhetorically described by Sil. 10, 606—640.

q...non desperasset, as proved by his advance to Canusium (54, 6) and his return to Rome to organise resistance, § 13.

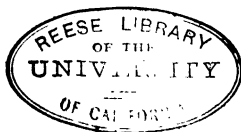
15. *qui* (all MSS.) *si* (not in MSS.): Valla. conj. *cui*, *si* (so vulg., cf. 19, 4); but cf. 24, 6 *ad quem...si*.

ductor = *imperator*, 'commander-in-chief', cf. 10, 21, 15; Wölf. observes that Tacitus applies this specially to leaders of foreign troops.

nihil, &c., 'there was no punishment which he would not have had to endure'; an unskilful or

unsuccessful general was usually crucified at Carthage; cf. 38, 48, 13.

foret, cf. 21, 28, 6; for subj. instead of *fuit*, where a condition is involved, cf. 60, 7; but, on the other hand, cf. 2, 38, 5.



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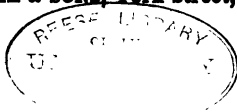
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